

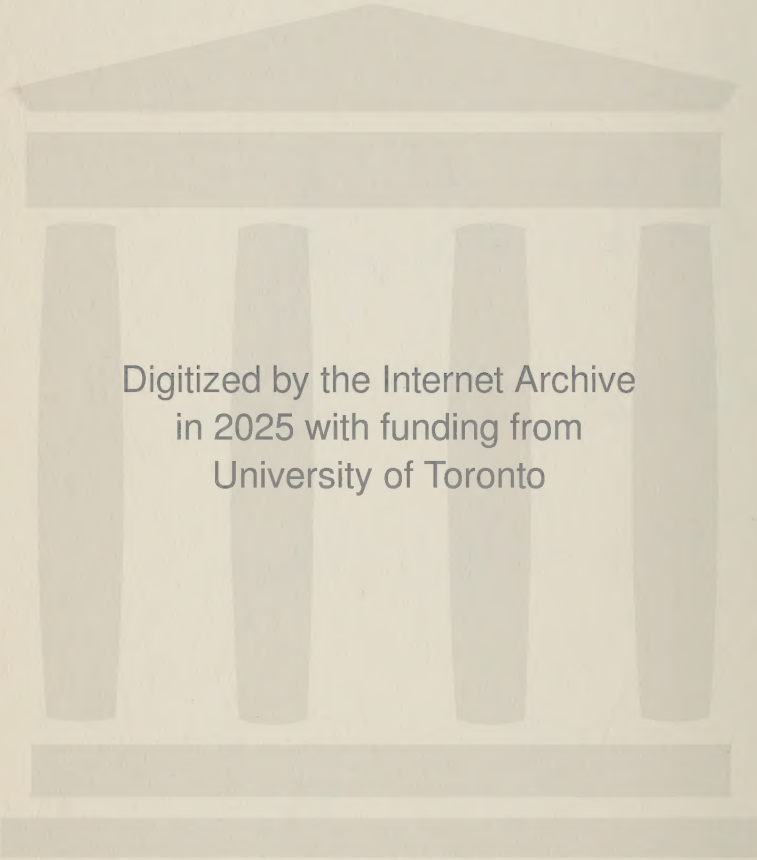
THE EMPIRE CLUB
ADDRESSES 1963-1964
SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY



Arthur J. Langley

To
Arthur Langley
With my recollection of
a very happy evening

Alce Douglas-Horne.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
University of Toronto

The Empire Club of Canada



HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL GEORGES P. VANIER,
Governor General of Canada,

Honorary President of The Empire Club of Canada
1963-1964



ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

President of The Empire Club of Canada
1963-1964

ADDRESSES 1963-1964



*The
Empire Club
of
Canada*

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

Sixtieth Anniversary Year

© Copyright 1964
The Empire Club of Canada

Sixty-First Year of Issue

PRINTED AND BOUND IN CANADA
T. H. Best Printing Company Limited
Don Mills, Ontario

1963-1964

Officers and Board of Directors

Honorary President

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
GEORGES P. VANIER, D.S.O., M.C., C.D.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA
THE HONOURABLE W. EARL ROWE, P.C.

*Honorary
Vice-President*

Officers

President

ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

First Vice-President

HON. D. R. MICHENER, P.C., Q.C., LL.D.

Second Vice-President

R. BREDIN STAPELLS, Q.C.

Third Vice-President

REV. E. M. HOWSE, S.T.M., PH.D., D.D.

Secretary-Treasurer

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

Honorary Secretary

ERNEST MILES

Honorary Treasurer

R. FORD RALPH

Honorary Auditor

H. T. JAMIESON, F.C.A.

Board of Directors

R. L. ARMSTRONG

WILLIAM M. KARN

IAN S. BAXTER

MAJOR T. C. KEEFER

DOUGLAS BEST

HAROLD R. LAWSON

NORMAN BORINS, Q.C.

LT. COL. BRUCE J. LEGGE,

J. H. CORRIGAN, Q.C.

E.D., Q.C.

DR. HAROLD B. CRANFIELD

J. B. MCGEACHY

DR. CLARENCE B. CRUMMEY

DAVID G. C. MENZEL, Q.C.

MARVIN B. GELBER, M.P.

DONALD G. NEELANDS

HAROLD G. GILLINGHAM

DR. JAMES A. PARISH

C. WARREN GOLDRING

DR. Z. S. PHIMISTER

GRAHAM M. GORE

ALEXANDER STARK, Q.C.

HON. PAUL T. HELLYER, M.P.

J. K. WILLIAMS, Q.C.

LT. COL. R. H. HILBORN

R. J. WOOD

H. N. R. JACKMAN

Immediate Past President

J. PALMER KENT, Q.C.

YEAR BOOK COMMITTEE

Douglas W. Best
Arthur J. Langley
Bruce J. Legge

Editor

Dr. C. C. Goldring

*The opinions and views expressed in the
Addresses contained in this volume are
those of the speakers themselves and do
not necessarily carry the full or partial en-
dorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.*

The Empire Club of Canada

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS

†1903-1912	Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.
†1913-1926	Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
†1927-1931	Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
†1931-1935	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.C., G.C.M.G.
†1935-1940	Rt. Hon. Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., C.H.
†1940-1946	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Athlone, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D.
1947-1959	Field Marshal, The Rt. Hon. The Earl Alexander of Tunis, G.C.B.

PAST PRESIDENTS

†1902-1905	Brig. Gen. James Mason
†1905-1906	Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
†1906-1907	J. P. Murray, Esq.
†1907-1908	J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
†1908-1909	D. J. Goggin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.
†1909-1910	Elias Clouse, Esq., M.D., C.M., L.F.P.S. Glasgow, L.R.C.P.S. Edin.
†1910 1911	J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.R.S.
†1911-1912	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
†1912-1913	Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
†1913-1914	Mr. Justice James Craig
†1914-1915	Lt. Col. R. J. Stuart
†1915-1916	Albert Ham, Esq., MUS. DOC.
†1916-1917	James Black Perry, Esq.
†1917-1918	Norman Sommerville, Esq., M.A., K.C.
† 1918	F. J. Coombs, Esq.
† 1919	R. A. Stapells, Esq.
† 1920	Arthur Hewitt, Esq.
† 1921	Brig. Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
† 1922	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.

†	1923	Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
†	1924	William Brooks, Esq.
†	1925	Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
†	1926	Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, HON. A.D.C., V.D.
†	1927	Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
†	1928	Robert H. Fennell, Esq., K.C.
†	1929	Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
†	1930	John D. Spence, Esq., B.A., K.C.
	1931	H. G. Stapells, Esq., Q.C.
	1932-1933	Col. The Hon. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
	1933-1934	Major James Baxter, M.C.
	1934-1935	Hon. Dana H. Porter, Q.C.
†	1935-1936	J. H. Brace, Esq.
†	1936-1937	Major G. B. Balfour, B.A., K.C.
†	1937-1938	Major R. M. Harcourt
†	1938-1939	J. P. Pratt, Esq., Q.C.
†	1939-1940	F. A. Gaby, Esq., B.A.SC., D.SC.
†	1940-1941	The Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, P.C. (Can.), K.C.
†	1941-1942	C. R. Sanderson, Esq., M.A., B.SC.
†	1942-1943	John C. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., Q.C.
†	1943-1944	W. Eason Humphreys, Esq.
	1944-1945	Charles R. Conquergood, Esq.
	1945-1946	Eric F. Thompson, Esq.
	1946-1947	Major F. L. Clouse
†	1947-1948	Tracy E. Lloyd, Esq.
	1948-1949	Thos H. Howse, Esq.
	1949-1950	H. G. Colebrook, Esq.
	1950-1951	Sydney Hermant, Esq.
†	1951-1952	D. H. Gibson, Esq., C.B.E.
	1952-1953	John Griffin, Esq.
	1953-1954	Arthur E. M. Inwood, Esq.
	1954-1955	James H. Joyce, Esq.
	1955-1956	Dr. C. C. Goldring.
	1956-1957	Donald H. Jupp, Esq., O.B.E.
	1957-1958	Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E.
	1958-1959	Lt. Col. Bruce J. Legge, Q.C., E.D.
	1959-1960	Harold R. Lawson, Esq.
	1960-1961	Alexander Stark, Esq., Q.C.
	1961-1962	Dr. Z. S. Phimister
	1962-1963	J. Palmer Kent, Esq., Q.C.

†*Deceased*

EXCERPT FROM *Origin and Objects of
the Empire Club*
PUBLISHED IN *The Year Book
for 1903-04*

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut. Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principals and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present after a discussion of various proposed names The Empire Club of Canada was approved by a large majority.

Contents

PAGE 1	THE MOST REVEREND AND RIGHT HONOURABLE ARTHUR MICHAEL RAMSEY, M.A., D.D. <i>Personal Responsibility and Interdependence</i>
16	<i>Private Luncheon for the</i> RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT AMORY, G.C.M.G.
17	THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LESTER B. PEARSON <i>A National Purpose</i>
28	MR. GEORGE C. METCALF <i>Centennial Business Is Your Business</i>
41	MR. LOUIS RASMINSKY <i>The Work of the Central Bank</i>
57	GENERAL E. W. RAWLINGS, U.S.A.F. (RET.) <i>Some Problems of a U.S.-owned Subsidiary Operating in Canada</i>
70	THE HONOURABLE LOUIS ROBICHAUD <i>New Brunswick – 1963</i>
81	MR. DAVID OGILVY <i>Should Advertising Be Abolished?</i>
92	THE HONOURABLE DOUGLAS S. HARKNESS, M.P. <i>World Political Changes and Their Effect on Defence</i>
101	RIGHT REVEREND H. R. HUNT, D.D. <i>Responsible Nationhood</i>
108	MR. PETER C. NEWMAN <i>What is Wrong with Parliament?</i>
118	THE HONOURABLE PAUL T. HELLYER, P.C., M.P. <i>Canada's Defence</i>
130	HONOURABLE JOHN HAY WHITNEY <i>Canadian and American Relations</i>

PAGE 137	HONOURABLE ERIC W. KIERANS <i>Quebec – Problems of Growth</i>
149	<i>Christmas Meeting with the</i> ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL SCHOOL CHOIR
153	FREDERICK A. STAHL <i>Outlook for the United States Economy and Securities Markets for 1964</i>
	A. HAMILTON BOLTON <i>The Outlook for the Canadian Stock Market</i>
177	G. ARNOLD HART <i>Looking Ahead</i>
186	MR. MARCEL VINCENT <i>Bell is Big Business</i>
195	THE HONOURABLE C. M. DRURY <i>The Canadian Department of Industry</i>
204	PETER NESBITT THOMSON <i>Separatism – A Dangerous Philosophy</i>
215	THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME <i>Diamond Jubilee Dinner</i>
238	DR. WALTER W. HELLER <i>Our Economic Prospects and Policies</i>
255	LYNN A. TOWNSEND <i>A Great Economic Opportunity</i>
270	SIR JOHN WEDGWOOD <i>The Economic Consequences of General de Gaulle</i>
279	THE HONOURABLE GUY FAVREAU <i>Unrest in French Canada</i>
291	SIR EDWIN LEATHER <i>What Use is the Commonwealth?</i>
302	CAPTAIN THE RIGHT HONOURABLE TERENCE O'NEILL <i>A Northern Ireland Point of View</i>

PAGE 309	<i>Minutes of a Special Meeting</i>
311	<i>By-Law "A"</i>
320	THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN, P.C., M.P. <i>Difficulties of the United Nations in Maintaining Peace</i>
328	ANDRE LAURENDEAU AND DAVIDSON DUNTON <i>The Work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism</i>
339	THE HONOURABLE THOMAS C. DOUGLAS <i>Canada – A Nation or a Satellite</i>
351	SIR RONALD L. PRAIN <i>Mining in an Undeveloped Country of Africa</i>
362	MR. PETER F. RUNGE <i>Some Problems of British-Canadian Trade</i>
371	<i>Annual Meeting – President's Report</i>
375	<i>Report of Nominating Committee</i>
377	<i>Militia Salute Programme</i>
378	<i>Reports and Accounts</i>
382	<i>Officers and Board of Directors</i>
383	<i>Index of Speakers, 1903-1964</i>
432	<i>Index of Subjects, 1903-1964</i>
482	<i>Index of Portraits, 1903-1963</i>
486	<i>Membership</i>

1963-1964 *List of Illustrations*

Frontispiece HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
GEORGES P. VANIER

Frontispiece ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

Following
page THE MOST REV. AND RT. HON. ARTHUR
262 MICHAEL RAMSEY, HON. EARL ROWE,
MRS. ROWE, MRS. LANGLEY, A. J. LANGLEY

RT. HON. LESTER B. PEARSON

HON. LOUIS ROBICHAUD

JOHN HAY WHITNEY

HON. PAUL T. HELLYER

PETER NESBITT THOMSON

ARTHUR J. LANGLEY, HON. ERIC W. KIERANS,
HON. JAMES N. ALLAN

SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

RT. HON. LESTER B. PEARSON, RT. HON.
SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME, ARTHUR J.
LANGLEY, HON. JOHN T. ROBARTS

DR. Z. S. PHIMISTER, LT. COL. BRUCE
J. LEGGE, RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-
HOME, ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME,
ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

HON. PAUL HELLYER

HON. JOHN ROBARTS, ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME

HON. PAUL MARTIN

DAVIDSON DUNTON, ANDRÉ LAURENDEAU

The Empire Club of Canada

AUGUST 13, 1963

*Personal
Responsibility and
Interdependence*

AN ADDRESS BY The Most Reverend and
Right Honourable
Arthur Michael Ramsey, M.A., D.D.
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND

JOINT MEETING THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
THE ENGLISH SPEAKING UNION
THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO
THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY AND
THE ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

GRACE DR. C. H. DICKINSON:

DR. DICKINSON:

Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee for all the blessings of life, and for the particular blessings of this time and place. We thank Thee for the Church, active in the world; and pray Thy blessing upon Thy servant, its Head in our midst. We pray for Thy blessing also upon the Congress of the Church being held in our city. May men and women of faith and good-will learn something afresh of the meaning of Thy will for their lives and for our common life.

2 THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Now bless this food to our use, we beseech Thee, and us in Thy Service; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAIRMAN'S
OPENING
REMARKS

MR. LANGLEY:

Your Honour, My Lords, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. This is truly a wonderful occasion for us all to meet together, The Royal Commonwealth Society, The St. George's Society, The English Speaking Union, the Canadian Club and the Empire Club. It is a very happy circumstance that brings this momentous Anglican Congress to Toronto and gives us this opportunity to join together in this extraordinary meeting to hear our speaker today.

We are extremely grateful that at the outset of his absorbing Congress programme, His Grace has found the time to be with us and to bring with him his charming wife. The Honorary Secretary of the Royal Commonwealth Society has more to say on this subject—Mr. Brian Kelsey.

PRESENTATION
TO MRS. RAMSEY

Mr. Brian Kelsey

MR. KELSEY:

On behalf of the Royal Commonwealth Society, Toronto, I am pleased to join with the other societies represented here today in welcoming Your Grace to Toronto. The Royal Commonwealth Society, representing, as it does, the interests and aspirations of the Commonwealth, is particularly gratified to have this opportunity to extend its welcome to Canada to the Head of the Established Church of the United Kingdom and of the Anglican Church throughout the world. It is also my special privilege and pleasure, on behalf of all present, to welcome Mrs. Ramsey,

I would like to present this bouquet to Mrs. Ramsey as our special token of welcome to her and to express our great pleasure at having her with us.

CHAIRMAN'S
OPENING RE-
MARKS FOR THE
RADIO
BROADCAST

The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Your Honour, My Lords, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. As President of the Empire Club of Canada it is my pleasant duty to welcome to this special luncheon meeting the members and guests of the English Speaking Union, the Canadian Club of Toronto, the St. George's Society, The Royal Commonwealth Society and the Empire Club of Canada. In addition to a veritable galaxy of notable guests whom we greet most warmly, we are privileged to have with us at this Head Table the distinguished representatives of all these organizations, and it is now my pleasure to call upon Mr. Harold Rea, the eminent President of the Canadian Club, to introduce our Guest of Honour.

INTRODUCTION Mr. W. Harold Rea

MR. REA:

A few days ago, my wife and I had a memorable experience while travelling by Jet across the Atlantic—when we found that our neighbours across the aisle were The Archbishop of Canterbury and his lady. As the plane landed at Malton, the first colourful figure to greet our vision was a Mounted Policeman in his scarlet uniform. I am sure every one in this audience, Your Grace, will be glad that once again the Mounted Police got their man and the right man at that.

It is my privilege today to introduce the 100th Archbishop of Canterbury since the first Archbishop of Saint Augustine came to England, in A.D. 597 . . . 1366 years ago. It would be impossible in many more minutes than those allowed me today to begin to mark the milestones and achievements in the life and work of our guest. A great Scholar in a family of scholars, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Ex-President of Cambridge Union . . . and a man of many honours. He is a great believer that with diversity in religious faith there is still room for tolerance, the same fundamental ideas of what we call morality, and a steadfast belief in the Fatherhood of God and the essential Brotherhood of Mankind. Our guest's parish has been in very truth the World.

Like Saint Paul himself, our guest has travelled into many far lands in the service of his Master—to the United States widely and on several occasions, to Rome, Moscow, Africa, India, Turkey, Greece and most of the countries of Europe. He has gone on his missions of reconciliation and Christian fellowship believing that there can yet be essential unity in diversity.

In welcoming your Grace it is not necessary to remind you, nor I hope this audience, of the great debt which this land owes to what we call the Anglican Church. Your Grace's Church, too, helped to found some of our earliest and best Universities. For those things, for much generosity of the Church in England to its brethren in Canada, and for the unselfish and sacrificial noble army of missionaries, this nation will ever be mindful and ever grateful.

Sir, it is our sincere hope your deliberations during the Congress will be most fruitful and that you and your colleagues, assembled from all over the world, will be able to discuss and give leadership to solving some of the burdens facing us today.

It gives me considerable pleasure and honour to introduce to this large gathering (comprising the members of The Empire Club, The St. George's Society, the English Speaking Union, the Royal Commonwealth Society and The Canadian Club); The Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Arthur Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.

HIS GRACE:

Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: I thank you from my heart for myself and my wife for your very generous, heart-warming welcome to us today. I have never seen so many people sitting down to lunch together before. I do not think I knew that it was possible for so many people all to have lunch together like this on one campus—or what should I call it?—and I should have been, believe me sincerely, very frightened because humanity in the lump and on a large scale is sometimes very frightening; but I am not frightened because I know that nearly all of the company are Canadians, and the last week or so in which we have been in Canada on our second visit has so warmed our hearts and made us utterly and entirely at home in this great and wonderful country.—(applause)

There are so many links in history of friendship and affection between Canada and Great Britain that probably every one of us cites different instances from his or her own experience. Let me tell you of one instance of that friendship and, indeed, intimacy which has sometimes moved me very much when I am at home.

In one of the chapels in my Cathedral at Canterbury, there is kept what we call the Book of Remembrance, and in that book there are commemorated the names of the men of our Kent Regiment, the Buffs, who fell for their country;

but the very same book also commemorates the men of the great Canadian regiment closely allied in friendship to the Buffs, the Queen's Own Rifles, and every single day throughout the year this moving little ceremony takes place. A soldier of the Buffs comes to the Cathedral at eleven o'clock in the morning and turns over the page so that a new group of names is disclosed to be remembered and daily when that happens prayers are said commemorating those who gave their lives for all of us and for freedom and praying for the peace of the nations and that daily act in my Cathedral is a very vivid reminder of the friendship of our countries, of the ideals which we have in common and of the great hope with which we both look towards the future.

Here in Toronto, the Anglican Church in Canada and indeed Canada in so many aspects of its life, has, by its great generosity and hospitality, made possible the holding of the Anglican Congress in this place. The Anglican Congress here will, I am sure, help to deepen the friendship of our countries within the Commonwealth, although of course, it will be doing more than that, we hope, because the Anglican Communion is a family of churches, some of them within the territories of the British Commonwealth, but some of them in territories far outside the Commonwealth and containing people of many nations and races. It is a family of churches which recognizes the Seal of Canterbury as the symbol of their common unity, but they are churches independent and equally held together by the bond of the Prayer Book which we all use, though there is small variance in our different churches serving one another and trying together to serve the world.

Among the hosts of my wife and myself today, there is the Empire Club. The word "Empire" is a word that has many historical associations and some of those associations are things which have certainly greatly benefited the human

race; but today we know that, by and large, the word "Empire" has yielded to the word "Commonwealth". I think that if a visitor from another planet were to visit this planet and first of all see what an obstinate world we are, so full of the obstinacies of folly and stupidity and prejudice, and were then told that in the midst of this obstinate world there existed a family of countries held together in a commonwealth, not by any elaborate constitution, not by the domination of any one of them over the others, but simply by being a family of mutual trust, with the Crown as a symbol of that mutual trust and family existence, he would rather marvel and, indeed, I think it is something to wonder at with great gratitude indeed that such a thing as our Commonwealth exists.

I sincerely believe that this remarkable thing, our Commonwealth, in its creation and development owes a very great deal to Canada's own part as a pioneer in its company; for isn't it really, with historical accuracy and with no exaggeration, true to say that our Commonwealth has come into existence through the application to the whole group of what are now Commonwealth countries of that relationship which Canada originally discovered towards Great Britain and worked out with her? It is the application all round the world of something discovered within the history of Canada and its relation to Great Britain that has made the growth of the Commonwealth possible.

Now, I used a moment ago the word "free" in describing the Commonwealth. I think I also used the word "free" in describing our Anglican Communion. Let me make reference to a country with which we do not ordinarily associate the word "free", namely the country of Russia. Let me say a word about Russia, having visited that country twice in recent years.

People often ask me, as one who has visited Russia –

my last visit there was just a little over a year ago – what is the state of Christian religion in Russia? Let me tell you just a little about that. The Soviet Government has a kind of two-fold policy towards the Orthodox Church, the historic church of the country. On the one hand, the State allows freedom for worship in a number of churches which are allowed to be open for worship, by a State licence. Those churches allowed to be open for worship are only a fraction of the ones that were open and filled with worshippers before the Communist Revolution. In the City of Moscow, for instance, some fifty churches are open and used, in contrast with several thousand that were opened in the older days. The churches that are open are crowded with Christian worshippers and it would not be entirely true to say that all those worshippers are elderly, because it is possible to see in Russia whole families worshipping together in church, parents and children alike, and it makes one realize the tremendous burden borne in Russia by the Christian homes which have kept the Christian faith alive.

There is that freedom of worship on the one hand, but on the other hand there is intense pressure and, indeed, persecution upon the Christian church

No sort of church activities are allowed outside the church building itself. No meetings, no schools, no clubs, no gathering of members of the church beyond a certain number, even in a private house, and this intense pressure of the banning of any sort of activity outside the actual church service is, of course, very restraining, indeed, and all the time intense anti-God propaganda goes on in schools, in colleges, on the radio and in many other ways as well. This double policy means that on one level the church is under intense pressure; in another way there is this certain liberty of worship.

In fact, Christianity does continue. It would take, I am

sure, a very, very close knowledge of the country and, indeed, of the homes of the people to know how widespread the actual belief and practice of religion is or how largely it has disappeared under the pressures of the last decades; but it is very clear that the Christian religion in Russia is not disappearing.

I mentioned families and homes. Now, as it would take the most immense courage for a young man or woman in a school or university in Russia to declare themselves to be a Christian, we become aware that it is in the Christian homes of Russia that the real work of maintaining the faith has been, and those congregations in church owe their existence, I am sure, to a torch kept alive, alight in Russian Christian homes and when we pray for our fellow Christians in Russia, let us remember the Christian homes and the witnesses which, perhaps all unseen, they are carrying on.

Now, one or two questions have been put to me by interrogators in this country about this. One question put to me is: Do I think that Communism and Christianity are compatible or incompatible? To that question, my answer is emphatically that Communism and Christianity are incompatible, for after all, Christianity is a way of life based upon faith in God and a belief in the eternal value of the individual man and woman, and Communism is a philosophy of life which has as one of its essential ingredients the denial of God and the denial of that eternal worth of the man and the woman which is cardinal in Christian faiths. The two faiths are, I am sure, incompatible.

But then the interrogator sometimes goes on and puts a second question: Do I believe that co-existence is possible between Communist countries and the non-Communist countries? Here my answer is: Yes, I believe that co-existence is possible and I believe that co-existence is possible for two reasons. The first reason is that no one of any ideo-

logy can want a war that would become a world war, because in such a war there are no winners. The so-called winner is as vulnerable to destruction as is the so-called defeated enemy, if, indeed, the distinction is possible. For that reason, co-existence is, indeed, possible because no one wants the holocaust, and let me say that before I left England, many of us there were feeling great hope that a real break-through had taken place through the signing in Moscow of the Treaty restraining nuclear tests. A day or two before I left I heard our Prime Minister Macmillan, using a Canadian analogy to describe our hopes in England. He described how a vast number of logs being carried down a Canadian river can get totally jammed so that there might be for days and days a total stand-still, but the moving of just one single log can cause a break-through and eventually all the logs get moving again. Let it be our hope and our fervent prayer that the recent treaty really does mark a break-through that will lead to other acts of trust and other acts of agreement.

But a second reason that I believe that co-existence is possible is this, that in every man and woman, wherever he lives and whatever ideology he professes, there is a humanity, a human something deeper and more valid than the ideology to which he says he is committed. It is the existence of this genuine humanity in men of every country, every race and every professed ideology which is, I believe, the real promise, if we have co-existence and we avoid the folly of going at one another's throats, that one day it is this deep human something in man which will come to the top and control the situation, rather than the ideologies which divide him. But isn't that another way of saying that the victory for humanity is going to be one not by military means, wars and victories, but by truth banishing error and falsehood? It is the spreading of what we Christians believe to be true about God and about man as made in God's own image; it is the

victory over that, conquering every force that denies it, which will one day make peace to be assured as the second nature and abiding state of affairs for the human race.

When, however, we use the term "the free world", in contrast with the "Communist world", we need to make one or two caveats. The term "the free world" is a very tremendous term and we have to be asking ourselves whether our own freedom is as deep and true as it ought to be. Let me mention here two aspects of freedom.

We have to look to ways—perhaps subtle ways—in which even our own professedly free world freedom may be endangered. I often feel in my own country that the freedom of the mind is very much imperilled by people living in such a world of noise and sensation and suggestion—one thing after another. I believe that modern techniques of advertisement are very dangerous to freedom of the mind because they involve the art of getting people to do things that they may not really want to do. But, quite apart from the impact of advertising, the sheer speed and noise of life make it more and more difficult for us to step back and be quiet and to feel feelings which are our own and to think thoughts which are our own and genuinely free. Let us beware, in our own countries, of all that may hinder the freedom of the mind in that kind of way. I think it is specially a danger in overcrowded and highly industrialized communities. Here in Canada, while you have your highly industrialized regions, you have also so much space, and let us hope that by possessing so much space you will go on enjoying a certain free spaciousness in heart and mind and sympathy.

Another aspect of freedom that we must be watching in our free world is, I think, this—that freedom is not something that can survive simply by being protected behind a rampart. Freedom is something that grows by being created and by being exported and we need to be doing our utmost

to be bringing the gift of freedom that we enjoy to other countries where freedom is in jeopardy, by spreading the ideals of freedom to counter false ideals and by also spreading the sheer necessities of life, helping countries that are far too hungry to be able to grow more food for themselves, and it is by this spreading of freedom where freedom is needed, that we help to conserve it for ourselves. It grows by creating itself, not merely by being negatively protected. In all these ways we know that our unity and service of humanity as Christians and our unity and service of humanity as a Commonwealth is well, and that the service of humanity in any great city, like the City of Toronto, is bound up with values and facts which transcend man altogether. The life of man is happy and free when man knows an absolute obligation towards things beyond himself and greater than himself.

A few years ago I was at a luncheon party of industrialists and business men somewhere in the north of England and some great industrialist from the English Midlands came to address the company about our future prospects, and he said at the beginning of his talk that he was going to limit the scope of his talk and define it as the prospects for the north-east for 1957 and he added, turning to me, "I confined myself to 1957 because if I wandered on beyond 1957 I might be encroaching on eternity and I understand that eternity is the prerogative of the Archbishop." – (Laughter)

But I would say that the concern of the Archbishop and equally the concern of all Christian men and women is both for eternity and for 1963.

We are called upon to be deeply sensitive to the needs of our fellow men and to their troubles, watching them and doing our utmost to help our fellows, individually, in cities and in national life and in the distresses of the world in every practical way that we possibly can, but knowing that we only do so when we are also fixing our gaze upon things that

really belong to eternity. In thanking the clubs here in Toronto which have so generously entertained us today and in wishing to each of those clubs and to all their members good fortune in the coming days and years in the services which they are going to give and are giving to humanity, let me sum up by quoting the words of an old Christian writer of The Middle Ages, Thomas Campion. He said this:

The man of faith has two eyes. With his right eye he sees the things of heaven; with his left eye he sees the things of earth.

And let my final counsel to you all, if I dare give it, be that you keep both eyes open and alert. — (Applause)

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Mr. G. Alec Phare, President of The St. George's Society of Toronto:

MR. PHARE:

Your Grace. To the ordinary layman in Canada, those are somewhat unfamiliar words. We are happy that your presence with us today makes them fitting and appropriate.

The fact that you are with us brings to mind the story of the little girl, who, at some churchly function, had been chosen to present a bouquet of flowers to the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the important evening, the little girl's mother gave out her last minute instructions — "Make your curtsy prettily, and be *sure* to say 'Your Grace'." So the little girl *did* make her curtsy, and then looked the Archbishop of Canterbury firmly in the eye, and — in a clear voice which reached every corner of the hall — said "For what we are

about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful."

Your Grace, we *have* received, and we *are* thankful. I am honoured in being allowed to convey the thanks of this audience to you for a gracious and stimulating address. In your remarks, particularly where you touched on co-existence without compromise, you have left with all of us both inspiration and challenge.

You have made friends here today—we know you will make many more before you leave Canada. The five organizations which make up your audience today all stand for different phases of love for England, and all those sterling qualities for which England has always stood. Will you take back with you our united greetings of affection and goodwill? In the present confusion of national and international affairs, Canada is trying to find itself and keep its house in order. When you get back home, we trust you will tell them that even though our attitude towards the Lords Temporal may seem a little confused, it does not extend to the Lords Spiritual.

In the great Anglican Congress which opens this afternoon, we unite in wishing you God's blessing as you explore political, cultural and religious frontiers—knowing that with it, nothing but good can come out of your deliberations.

Your Grace, simply and sincerely, we thank you.

MR. LANGLEY:

Now before we part, Your Grace, and as you stand on the threshold of your deliberations here in Toronto, we might all take with us some words that were subscribed to, here in this city, by a very distinguished Torontonion *nearly 100 years ago*. These thoughts transcend religious differences and apply as well to all problems and supposed differences—even in the political arena, where we observe the East-West struggle and they echo your words

down the years and underline both the timeliness and timelessness of your message.

The man was John Strachan, the first Bishop of Toronto, and these are the words:

We should begin to collect and consider all the points about which we *agree*, instead of all the time contending about those on which we *differ*, and endeavour if possible, to form a basis on the points on which we are all at one, for *I believe* that all who impartially study their own hearts would soon perceive that there was *no true* ground for division and animosity, but much for unity and love.

OCTOBER 1, 1963

Private Luncheon

for the

Right Honourable Viscount Amory

G.C.M.G.

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER TO CANADA

On Tuesday, October 1st, in the Quebec Room of the Royal York Hotel, the Past Presidents and Directors of the Empire Club entertained Lord Amory at luncheon to bid him farewell on the occasion of his departure for England and his retirement as British High Commissioner to Canada.

Lord Amory had been a very good friend of the Club during his most successful tour of duty in Canada and had undoubtedly served the common interests of Canada and Britain splendidly.

We were particularly pleased to have with us on this occasion His Honour, the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, the Honourable W. Earl Rowe, P.C., and His Worship, the Mayor of Toronto, Donald D. Summerville.

OCTOBER 10, 1963

A National Purpose

AN ADDRESS BY The Right Honourable
Lester B. Pearson
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

JOINT MEETING THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA AND
THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Gentlemen of the Empire Club and Canadian Club, it is now my privilege to introduce our Guest of Honour – which I am proud to do with the simplest and yet most fitting tribute to which a Canadian can aspire – Gentlemen, the Prime Minister of Canada.

THE RT. HON. LESTER B. PEARSON:

I am honoured today to address your two Clubs. The joining together of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club seems to me to be symbolic. Put your names, side by side. Consider what the urge of “Empire” has meant to our nation’s development. Consider also the hopes of nineteen million men, women and children which are written into the one word, “Canadian”. Put these words together, as you have done at this meeting, and you blend a great heritage with even greater hopes. This is exactly what all of us in Canada must now do in our search for a national purpose, to help us realize a great national destiny.

Such a national purpose *must* command the support of

people on the farm and in the factory; in management and in the union; in the church and in the schoolroom; in the East and in the West of our continental country; in Quebec and in Ontario. We must find such a purpose to which we can give voice and shape and effort and heart, if we are to survive in this country as a strong and united country, economically and spiritually solvent. A national purpose cannot be formulated merely by legislation or by declaration; by slogans or patriotic emotion; nor by any assumption of special virtue in ourselves.

There must be a determination to understand the real nature of Canada and the forces eroding that nature; to recognize the peril of serious internal divisions; to recognize also the competition and challenge of the changing world community and the competitive world marketplace; to realize the opportunities of national strength through unity and the fatal weakness of division and discord.

This understanding, this recognition, cannot be created by government. But government can establish political, social and economic goals; can identify and try to eliminate internal dissensions; can help to plan, for the essential expansion of our economy, for new trading patterns, for more research and better training, for less dependence on foreign capital to achieve our full national development. Government alone cannot expand the Canadian economy. It can help — by planning and incentives, by co-operation and negotiation. The expansion will be carried out only by people.

We *can* negotiate, promote and protect — up to a point — Canada's trade. But, while we can help, it is capital and industry that must adapt itself to the demands of tomorrow's world for the products of sophisticated technology, or Canada will forfeit the main markets on which tomorrow's prosperity will depend. In striving to create, by working together, the national purpose our times demand, Canadians

today and tomorrow have only to equal the achievements of yesterday. Those achievements were proud ones; bridging the continent—welding peoples into a nation never second-rate in war or peace—developing a society whose strength, tolerance and enterprise became the envy of older, larger, more homogenous countries. Today these things stand in jeopardy.

The questions now asked about us in the world are changing. Instead of “How do you do it?” and “May I come?”, we now hear “Is it a good place to invest?” and “What’s going on?”

In such matters, spirals, both vicious and virtuous, can easily develop. It is not too hard to feel a sense of national purpose if things are going well for a country, as they were for Canada during the first decade or so after World War II, and to become over-confident and even smug. But, when we fare less well, questions begin, and it becomes apparent that our sense of purpose isn’t all we thought it was. It is against this background that I want to refer briefly to one or two aspects of our current economic situation.

Government has to grapple with two main problems in our economy. One problem is unemployment, which has been serious and persistent for several years now. The other problem is the deficit in our dealings with other countries. As a nation we normally earn abroad less than we spend abroad. In effect, we have to borrow more and more from other countries in order to make up the difference.

Progress is being made with both these problems. There are prospects for continuing improvement. The most encouraging single sign is the increased sale of wheat, which will help—though not solve—our external payment difficulties. It will also increase employment. The Government has taken other measures to improve employment. There will be loans for municipal development, increased payments for

winter works programmes, special incentives to industry in the areas of persistent unemployment, a capital fund for economic development in the Atlantic Provinces. Unemployment this winter may be less bad than in recent years. I do not claim any primary and partisan relationship between that prospect—if it is realised—and the actions of government. The *result* is what matters.

Nor do I wish to suggest that we should be in any way complacent about the situation. The problems are complex and persistent. New jobs are created but many existing jobs are disappearing on account of automation. Every year more young people are coming out of our schools and colleges, looking for work. We have to run fast in order to make any progress at all. Vigorous action is necessary to encourage new industries, increase production, create more employment and—I repeat—improve our balance of payments with other countries.

Balance of payments brings me to the problem of foreign investment. So far as I am concerned, there is no problem about foreign investment as such. In general it is productive of economic progress and highly desirable. There *are* questions about the proper role of foreign investment, particularly direct investment, but they are the same questions that arise about every good thing. There is nothing so good that you can't have too much of it, in a given time and by comparison with what you have of other things.

Foreign capital comes to Canada to earn a return to the investor. Good investments are therefore a commitment against our future balance of payments. Unless we are engaged in a sort of rake's progress of borrowing even more and more—and obviously that can't go on indefinitely—Canada has got to pay the returns on foreign investment out of what we export. And obviously, in a competitive world,

we have to be concerned that the commitments shouldn't exceed our capacity to export.

Much of the foreign capital in Canada is invested in exporting industries, especially primary ones. To the extent that it produces export increases which wouldn't otherwise take place, such investment doesn't create a balance-of-payments problem; though it may involve other problems. The capital produces the export capacity to service itself—and, often, much more. But Canada can balance its foreign accounts and have high rates of economic growth and employment, only if we can competitively export more manufactured products. And here we come to the dilemma of direct investment in Canada.

In the manufacturing industry, most of the foreign companies that now set up subsidiaries in Canada do so in order to serve the Canadian market. They tend to think of exports as the business of the parent company. I don't mean that they deliberately cramp, or discriminate against, the subsidiary in Canada. But, generally speaking, it just isn't set up with exports out of Canada in mind. This is not in any way a criticism of anyone concerned. It is just a statement of business and economic fact which obviously and inevitably applies to much—though not, of course, to all—of the Canadian manufacturing which is operated by subsidiaries of foreign concerns.

Concern about this situation does not mean hostility to the foreign investor. It is concern because an ever-decreasing proportion of Canadian industry is Canadian-managed and controlled, and is not necessarily directed towards winning the largest possible export markets for Canadian products. In other words, the danger of being a branch-plant economy is that, beyond a certain point, it sets up serious economic obstacles to the level of exports needed to pay dividends on the capital that creates the branch plants. It can get to the

point where it prevents us dealing effectively without balance of payments problems and, in that case, it harms all investors, both Canadian and others.

This is why our concern about increasing foreign control of industry is not a matter of a narrow economic nationalism. Nothing could be further from the truth. We want to treat the foreign investor fairly. But we won't be able to do that if foreign control and management hinder our economy as a whole from becoming sufficiently orientated to exports, or prejudice our own national interest generally. If that happened, not only Canada, but the foreign investors themselves would suffer, because of the inadequacy of our export earnings to cover a proper return to the investors.

I do not believe there is much disagreement with this point of view in Canada or much unwillingness, among foreign investors, to recognize the validity of the objective as I have stated it. The problems are practical problems of methods. About those, there always are differences of view and there is always value in continuing discussion which may eventually lead to better methods than were thought of in the first place. We must find the best methods, and that is not always an easy and simple thing to do.

I would like to mention another problem which affects national purpose. It arises out of the nature of our federalism and the relations between the Canadians who speak two official languages. I have spoken a number of times recently about this in a general way. Today I would like to refer specifically to one particular problem in this area of federal-provincial relations—the problem of pensions.

We are all agreed, I am sure, in wishing that all other Canadians should have the security that makes the difference between dignity and dependence. We made a large step towards that goal in the early years after the war, when we established a basic pension for everyone at the age of 70. To

make that possible, I remind you, the federal government and the provinces had to agree on an amendment to our constitution. The amendment said that the federal government could legislate about pensions in Canada as a whole, provided that, in doing so, we didn't interfere with the operation of any existing or future provincial laws.

Since then, there has been a movement of public opinion towards a further national objective in the field of pensions: that is, to ensure that all Canadians, irrespective of the sort of work they do and whether or not they change their jobs from time to time, should have continuous access to a level of pension provision higher than can or should be provided by the flat-rate, universal government pension alone. An obvious addition is a Canada-wide contributory plan which would make available to everyone the sort of pensions that many people now get by agreement with their employers, provided that they work for one company for a good part of their working lives.

The previous government at Ottawa announced a year or two ago that it was in favour of such a national contributory plan. My own Party had adopted the idea in a resolution of our convention in 1958. And in two successive general elections we spelled out the proposal in some detail. Against this background, I am a little surprised to hear a national pension plan talked about as if it were an unconsidered, revolutionary new proposal which has sprung up suddenly.

I know that there are important economic decisions involved in such a national plan; I know that any legislation on the subject must be given careful scrutiny, with evidence heard for and against. I know also that such legislation, for us in Canada, must be handled in the context of our federal structure.

In July, the federal government put forward for con-

sideration the outline of a pension plan. In August, there was an important change in the situation. At that time, the Legislature of the province of Quebec unanimously passed a resolution to establish a public pension plan for everyone in that province. There is no doubt that under the constitution every province has the right to establish such a plan. There is equally no doubt that it would be foolish to have two plans, federal and provincial, operating on top of each other. And finally, there is also no doubt that, under the wording of our constitution, a provincial plan takes precedence if the provincial government wants it to. Therefore, as soon as the Quebec Legislature had passed its pension resolution, the federal government made it plain that we wouldn't try to apply a federal plan in a province which sets up a similar plan of its own. But what about the people of the rest of Canada? And what about people who move between one province and another?

The answers to these questions involve a very important problem in federal-provincial co-operation. My concern is that the federal government and the provinces should work together to find solutions which are in the best interests of all Canadians. I think that, in its attitude to the Quebec plan, the federal government has shown full willingness to co-operate with the provinces in these matters in the general interest of Canadians. We want to sustain such co-operation, which, I do not need to point out, is a two-way street. It requires, on both sides, a reasonable degree of flexibility, and give and take.

In this whole question of pensions, the province of Ontario has a special role not only because of its size and importance but also because it has already taken a lead over other provinces by legislation to regulate private pension plans and compel them to be made more widely available. The Premier of Ontario has stated his wish to co-operate

with the federal government in his support of the principle of a national contributory pension plan. I refer to that in order to express my appreciation of it and my desire to reciprocate. With friendly consultation when required and with full public discussion in and out of Parliament, I am sure that we can solve this problem by measures, which are economically sound and socially desirable. The two things must go together.

I have talked about pensions as only one example of the complex problems of our confederation, which are linked with economic and social problems quite tough enough in themselves. We will not find the right solutions to any of them if our ideas are either rigid or unrealistic. There can be no standing still in today's world, but we must move forward with care, forethought, and common sense.

The national purpose that we are all searching for is, in its essentials, simple. It is the purpose of all good people; of good business; of good trade unions. And it is the purpose of good government, of laws which have the authority of respect, of administration which is honest and competent. It is, perhaps above all, the purpose of honest and fair-minded public discussion, among people who do not confuse argument with the imputation of motives, whose concern is solely for the public weal.

A strong Canadian national purpose rejects, I believe, the idea that the government should forcibly intervene in a labour dispute which has become a lawful strike after the required processes of collective bargaining have been exhausted; intervene, that is, in order to force man back to work.

But a strong national purpose means that if the national interest is seriously and demonstrably damaged, if serious national consequences are flowing from a strike, and if all reasonable efforts at mediation are exhausted, then govern-

ment must intervene to stop the strike in a way which will ensure that there is no prejudice to the interest of either the employee or the employer in a fair settlement.

I do not think that a national purpose can be set down in glowing phrases. It is expressed in the spirit in which we deal with particular problems. It is the purpose, and the determination to make Canada "a union not of parchment, but of men's hearts and minds".

We shall find out in the months ahead whether we are able to achieve that purpose.

I believe we can.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Mr. W. Harold Rea, the President of the Canadian Club of Toronto.

The dedicated attention with which your speech has been received and the applause with which you have been acclaimed make my few words of thanks but a formal ending to a great occasion. I call it a "great occasion" because your presence here has once again justified our existence as forums of national enlightenment and furthered the high purpose for which these two great and famous clubs were originally founded and have consistently laboured during many years of our national life.

In welcoming the leaders of our nation as they have spoken with authority and frankness on Canadian problems, we have ever sought to promote the union and the unity, the progress and the prosperity of this great land. You, Mr. Prime Minister, carry burdens as heavy as any borne by your illustrious predecessors. Yet, after sleepless nights . . . or the threat of sleepless nights . . . and sittings of Parliament where splinter parties do not always appear to be "chips

off the old block", you have generously and courageously shared with us your precious time to address us with the honest simplicity of straightforward speech. You have made a powerful plea for racial and religious understanding and tolerance, and an irresistible appeal to all Canadians to devote the trinity of their heads, their hearts, and their minds to bring strength and progress, national and international, to their beloved motherland.

We believe with you that a united and individual effort is bound to succeed in a land settled by a people so rich in variety and romance, a nation of pioneers which has brought law and order to a continent and still can see, and is determined to conquer, the beckoning immensities of bright horizons.

A wise man has said that democracy is a method of accounting for everyone . . . the little works of many hands, the little loves of many hearts, the light of many minds. That, I believe, Sir, is your hope and your faith.

I am sure then that everyone in this audience, of every political party, of every creed and every racial origin, is deeply grateful for your presence and the words that you have spoken. In their name, I thank you.

OCTOBER 17, 1963

Centennial Business Is Your Business

AN ADDRESS BY Mr. George C. Metcalf

PRESIDENT

GEORGE WESTON LIMITED

JOINT MEETING THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA AND
TORONTO BOARD OF TRADE

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

The Empire Club of Canada is particularly conscious of the significance of anniversaries in view of the fact that we are so busily engaged in marking our own Sixtieth Anniversary season this year. As Canadians, dedicated to the interests of Canada—and of Canada in the greater realm of world affairs together with its partners in the Commonwealth and its allies throughout the world, it is fitting for the Empire Club to be particularly concerned and enthusiastic about an even more important anniversary—the 100th anniversary of this nation.

It is particularly appropriate, therefore, that in our Sixtieth Anniversary season we should assist and encourage the focusing of attention on this tremendous milestone in the growth and development of our wonderful country.

Time is short. The selection and development of ideas and plans suitable to this momentous anniversary is commanding the attention of responsible men and women at

all levels of government, business and various types of associations. It was to give a purposeful lead and to effect a useful measure of coordination that the National Centennial Administration was formed, and who but Mr. Canada—John Fisher—could have been more appropriate to become its Commissioner. Typical of the sort of prominent, dedicated business men who were called upon to constitute the Centennial Administration's Board is our guest of honour.

He is well known to all of us as the spark plug of the Weston Organization and for his successful direction of many key enterprises in the greater Canadian community—Eddy Paper, Westfair Foods, Loblaw's, Wm. Neilson and so forth. I will not attempt to catalogue his many and selfless community services perhaps best exemplified by his devotion for 40 years to the personal leadership of his bible class at Grace United Church.

George Metcalf is at one and the same time an enthusiast and a dedicated man. Always, his personal dedication and commitment to the ideals in which he believes, have marked him as an outstanding Canadian and these particular individuals are certainly the ones which Canada needs to help ensure that our Centennial is as successful as it deserves to be.

For a hard-headed business man's look at the potential for Canada in the coming Centennial, we are pleased to have the privilege of welcoming George Metcalf, in his capacity as a Director of the National Centennial Administration.

MR. METCALF:

When I was invited by your President to address the Empire Club of Canada. I was highly honoured to have the pleasure of bringing my message to the Empire Club—one of the most important forums in Can-

ada, with an extensive, creative influence in industrial and financial circles of this country.

I am doubly pleased to be here today when I learned that members of the Toronto Board of Trade are in attendance . . . and no one underrates their place of prominence, and role of importance, in the business communities of the nation. In addition, I understand that our meeting is graced by the presence of many of the top leaders of the food industry. I thank you most sincerely for your heart-warming, generous attendance.

I must say that I am grateful for this chance to speak to all of you, not only as a Director of the National Centennial Administration, but in a personal way, straight from the heart.

Centennial business is your business.

Here is a letter from Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, which I should like to read to you now.

Ottawa, October 10, 1963

Dear Mr. Metcalf:

On this occasion of your address to the Empire Club of Canada and the Board of Trade, will you please carry to the members my best wishes. I note you have been asked to talk about the Centennial.

The year 1967 will be an outstanding one for Canada, if each one of us plays a part in the birthday celebrations. The Centennial of Confederation offers a great opportunity to emphasize the need for close co-operation between government and business in the development of our country.

The Federal Government recognizes its responsibility in preparing a program that will mark this historic occasion. The Government believes that, in addition to a vibrant national theme, the celebration of the birth of

our nation must have important local and provincial aspects with the enthusiastic participation of millions of Canadians. There must be a powerful element of grass roots participation.

This is the nation's birthday and future generations will judge us on how well we accepted the Centennial challenge. A Centennial is really everybody's business. I hope that business, industry and all voluntary groups will help make 1967 the brightest and most memorable of the century of years. It will be good for the unity and national spirit of Canada, if we can leave some beneficial and lasting memorials at the start of our second century of nationhood.

I know that business men in this audience and everywhere in Canada will study ways and means of establishing centennial projects and of stimulating Canadians about the future of their country.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Lester B. Pearson
Prime Minister of Canada

Canada—nowhere in the world a better place to live. We have a boundless wealth of natural resources, bounteous harvests—enough to feed the world. Truly a nation supremely blessed. Throughout the vast expanse of this spacious and splendid domain, the sky is the limit for initiative and enterprise. The world knows us as a young, dynamic, prosperous nation, willing to tackle anything, and thrill to the unknown. A nation growing in grandeur, measured for the mantle of greatness . . . exhilarating and free, exploding with opportunity—wide open to the genius and activity of free men.

In less than one hundred years Canada has advanced from an unknown frontier land to a position of world

prominence. In proportion to its population, no nation can command so much respect as this land of the Maple Leaf. Canada's coming Centennial commemorates a century of illustrious history and glorious achievements, created by the courage and enterprise of its people. Canada is a free nation. Let free enterprise show what it can do voluntarily to make the Centennial of Confederation a monument to progress and freedom.

The Centennial Year is rushing at us with the speed of sound and it is just over the horizon. There are less than 1200 days to January 1, 1967 . . . Canada's Centennial Year. We are fast approaching the most historic landmark in Canada's brisk march to nationhood. It will take all the inspired persistence, determination, and enthusiasm we can muster to continue to thrive and expand and strengthen our national purpose. The Centennial of Confederation, suitably celebrated with nation-wide festivities, should be a great event in the history of our nation.

Gentlemen – Centennial Business is Your Business.

For an event of such magnitude, far-sighted, vigorous planning is essential. Government, business, cultural organizations—all must work in close co-operation and harmony. A genuine and dramatic Centennial, shared by all, would create and inspire a better atmosphere for a greater Canada. These short years before 1967 offer Canadians the opportunity to plan for that great event, to make it the most climactic year in Canadian history, ensuring that our nation will go on to finer and greater things. The largest aspect of the Centennial should rest with those who volunteer, and not with Governments alone. Business and industry must give strong leadership. We must use 1967 not so much to reflect on a century of colourful history and progress, but rather to rededicate ourselves, to redouble our efforts, for a new 100 years of achievement and development—to move

forward to unprecedented heights of prosperity and accomplishment in this Space Age.

All provinces have passed Centennial legislation, and the number of cities, towns, municipalities, counties and voluntary groups which have started Centennial Committees is most impressive.

An act of Parliament gives the National Centennial Administration its authority to enter into cost sharing programmes with the provincial governments, and also to embark on projects of its own. The federal government agreed to set aside \$19 million for local Centennial projects. This means the provinces can receive one dollar per capita per province. One-third of the total cost of any acceptable project will be borne by the federal government. It must be understood that the provinces will see that the remaining two-thirds is raised. They can do it themselves, or in co-operation with municipalities or other initiating agencies. In other words, for every dollar the federal government raises, twice that amount must be accountable by the province. In the case of Ontario, this means the federal will pay \$6,448,000, providing the province will guarantee that \$13 additional millions will be found and spent on agreed projects. This is not a job for any one group or agency. It is a national undertaking—a project for all Canadians.

We at the National Centennial Administration are acutely conscious of the fact that the success of the Centennial depends almost entirely on getting all Canadians—people in government . . . people in business . . . and people in private life—individuals and groups—enthusiastically involved in this enterprise.

Centennial Business is Your Business.

One of the most important factors sparking its success will be the support of groups like your own—groups which

include captains of industry, the pace setters of the professions, leaders of Canadian community life. The time to start Centennial planning is now. Companies, industries, should recognize now the benefits which will accrue to all Canada if the Centennial is properly honoured. Industries throughout Canada should accelerate a Centennial programme of their own. Let us move happily, and confidently, into the second century of Canada's nationhood . . . proud of the past, and eager for a finer and greater Canada tomorrow.

Where will business fit into this salute to the nation? As businessmen we have a major part to play, for our interests cover the full range of economic activities throughout the nation. Regardless of the size, or nature of our business interests, we have one thing in common, positively . . . the welfare of our country. As businessmen, our future progress is enhanced by a prosperous Canada. Free enterprise, responsible enterprise, is our way of life. It is the backbone of Canada's economic strength and political stability.

Let all Canadian businessmen show that we accept freely, willingly, with confidence and high spirit . . . the task of honouring a century of glorious Canadian achievement. Let us launch Canada into her second century with a fanfare that will be heard around the world. The number and variety of Centennial projects that Canadian business can undertake are infinite. They can be great projects, befitting the resources of giant industrial corporations, or more modest programmes adapted to the limitations of the small business firms. Many of you, I know, are thinking—what can my organization do? what can my community do? Well, today I am going to tell you some of the things that can be done by business . . . and why Centennial Business is Your Business . . . why Centennial Business is Good Business—for you.

Many Centennial projects can be successfully sponsored

and undertaken by individual firms, large and small on their own, but in unity there is strength. If all the companies in a single industry or business activity—like the supermarket chains, banks, oil, paper, communications, transportation, insurance, food, advertising agencies, combined their resources and united their efforts to plan, to promote and really put over one of these Centennial programmes . . . think of the power, the organizational ability, the executive talents, that can be brought to bear for the achievement of any purpose . . . by the joint action of all the members of a single industry. Let us, the businessmen of Canada, use our Centennial as the goal for a tremendous burst of enthusiasm. We all believe in Canada . . . why not invest in Canada, not only its stocks, its bonds, its real estate, but in its future . . . its unity? It is only as Canada advances that you prosper.

The biggest threat to our future is our lack of understanding of our own countrymen. Put out your hand to your fellow Canadian, and then let's go forward, hand in hand, to give all Canadians everywhere the opportunity to live, and develop, and contribute to Canada's future. Put more people to work. Give each and every one of us a target. Give the nation a new spirit. Excitement makes sales, and sales create jobs, and jobs build nations.

If we are to play our full part in the building of a better world, we must be strongly united as a nation. We must have the economic toughness that goes with it. A strong economy at home is bound to strengthen our voice abroad. The economy of this country must be geared to the world which is being shaped for tomorrow. This country of ours should be the showplace among nations. We have everything in Canada, but we must work harder for this great nation of ours. Get excited for all out effort.

Canadians will expect that as many of the Centennial activities as possible will be shared throughout the nation.

This means portable exhibits—artistic, scientific, cultural, industrial—visiting the smaller towns and villages in all the provinces of Canada . . . “CARAVANS OF CANADIANA ON WHEELS”. There are songs to be written, music to be composed, films to be produced, T.V. programmes to be presented . . . telling the Canadian story, urging Canadians to honour the birthday of their country. There are many stimulating projects here to interest the automobile industry.

In the field of community improvements, there is an abundance of programmes awaiting sponsorship. This is a project which affects every town and city in Canada—and even rural areas—the beautification and improvement of the main streets, shopping areas—such as the \$10,000,000 Centennial project of one of our leading departmental stores—residential districts, the factories and the roadside farms of the nation. It can be done nationally, regionally, provincially, or even on the local level. A nation-wide paint and clean up campaign . . . modernize and renovate.

Those of you who have seen Chicago’s great State Street at night have surely marvelled at its brilliant daylight atmosphere, its sparkling store fronts, its crowds of active shoppers. Far too many of the main streets of our cities and towns need this radiance. A Centennial project to install specially designed, typically Canadian, bright and exciting street lighting in our main streets would add distinction to our cities and towns, and definitely stimulate business. The power companies, the electrical firms and design industries, could take the leadership in a—“BRIGHTEN THE FACE OF CANADA” project.

A programme to provide senior high school and college students with opportunities to see the wonders and marvels of Canada from coast to coast would be a wonderful project for business to underwrite.

1967 will be the biggest year ever for tourism. When a

great nation celebrates its first century, we can expect visitors from other countries by the thousands. Think of the relatives Canadians have in the U.S. and Europe alone who will want to attend the birthday celebrations. If we can expect visitors from outside Canada, think of the number of Canadians who will be seeing more of their own country. I predict we will see the greatest criss-crossing of provincial borders that Canada has ever seen. The Centennial's aim is to strengthen Canada by getting Canadians to travel at home. The more we know each other, the more we see of this great colourful land, the more we will forge a national purpose.

In the field of higher education, the universities are always in need of financial help. One project that business could undertake is the perpetual endowment of, say, 100 chairs in Canadian universities devoted to studies which promote and foster better understanding between Canadians, or between Canadians and the peoples of other countries. Another project which needs sponsorship in this country—university exchange scholarships . . . a system of financial aid to allow Canadian students to spend one or more years in universities other than our own in Canada . . . or perhaps in France . . . or other countries represented by some of the principal racial groups in Canada. Think of what this would do in fostering and strengthening a wider understanding among Canada's population in the years to come.

Who would take on the job of promoting a super-Rodeo . . . a Canadian stampede . . . bristling with our own colourful Mounties, Russian Cossacks, South American Gauchos, and specialty riders from countries like South Africa, Arabia and India, as well as from this continent? This would be a sporting event that would attract the attention of the world and thrill Canadians and visitors alike.

In my opinion, one of the most gratifying pleasures in

the world is helping those who cannot help themselves . . . the blind, the shut-ins, the immobile. Who is going to help them enjoy the Centennial celebration? What a humanitarian contribution it would be for some company to provide and equip buses to transport wheelchair patients to view and enjoy Centennial celebrations and spectacles nationally or regionally . . . to arrange for special showing of Centennial festivities on film in hospitals across the country.

What about the handicapped who are willing and able, but cannot find work? Couldn't their talents be mobilized to produce handicraft articles, souvenirs and items, of special appeal in the Centennial year? Some company could organize a programme of handicraft workshops across Canada . . . a National Exhibition of Canadian-made Products under a system of standards and awards which would not only improve the design and quality of Canadian handicraft, but open to many of our handicapped citizens a new world of interest, activity and participation . . . a most worthy project.

If bilingualism is a problem in this country, why don't we businessmen do something about it? Surely in this day of electronic devices, and with all the research that has been expended on communications, we can provide some of the answers. What can business do to help make it easier for adults to learn French? What large corporations – or industry – or groups of industries – will take on the project of finding the tools for a wider use of the French language?

We in the English-speaking provinces should give leadership, and our businessmen could encourage our schools to continue to expand and accelerate their programmes to teach French . . . organize special classes for young people, for adults . . . sponsor more broadcasts and telecasts in French. We will be surprised how many people will respond. Instead of stressing the effort required to learn another language, we should emphasize the rewards, the cultural

development, the self-satisfaction. Private enterprise should find the best ways to interest more and more adults in another language, because another language is another door to adventure. It is an asset to the individual and an aid to the nation.

Canadians have learned to live with space. We made a working nation out of a country seven time zones wide . . . one of the great success stories of nation building, one of the shining stars in the works of man. We have always found the will and energy to preserve our liberties. Now we must find the faith and enthusiasm to strengthen our unity. Canada needs a cause that will bring us together more strongly. Canada needs a national sense of direction . . . the spirit, the drive, the courage to take bold giant steps. We must mobilize our energies, get every segment of Canadian life participating. Participation is the answer. Businessmen must all get in and pitch with ideas, co-operation and spirit.

Get ready to welcome the greatest peacetime invasion ever known to man. Extend the friendly hand of true Canadian hospitality. Display the wonders of a glorious country with magnificent hospitality. Canada's 100th birthday holds national and international interest. Project Canada's mighty image beyond our national borders, beyond this continent, into every remote corner of the world. Everybody, everywhere, should receive a hearty invitation to attend, to participate in the joys and festivities of this happy celebration . . . the more, the merrier.

Many Canadians may know Canada, her amazing productive capacity, her great wealth of natural resources . . . but does the world know? We want the world to know Canada and Canadians.

Let's think big, plan big. After all, it is good business for Canada . . . for all nations. Trade follows the tourist. The bigger the celebration, the greater the stimulus to travel and

trade. Canada has lots of things to sell the world. Let's tell them. Let's show them. The benefits could be terrific . . . the economic impact staggering.

The vision of the future lies in men's dreams. The abiding faith that created this nation can inspire dazzling new ideals, spur a resolute people onward, to even greater achievement. Each and every one of us has a responsibility and an opportunity to build a better Canada for all.

Let us go forward together, united in purpose, with dedication and resolve. If we believe positively and confidently in ourselves and our country, then there isn't a single shadow of doubt about our bright future. Believe and know there is a wonderful world in Canada's tomorrow.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Mr. Robert L. Armstrong, the Chairman of the Board of Trade Club, and a Director of the Empire Club.

OCTOBER 21, 1963

The Work of the Central Bank

AN ADDRESS BY

Mr. Louis Rasminsky

GOVERNOR

THE BANK OF CANADA

JOINT MEETING

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO AND
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

CHAIRMAN

Mr. W. Harold Rea

PRESIDENT OF THE CANADIAN CLUB

MR. REA:

Today it is my pleasure and my privilege to present to this meeting a modest scholar, a devoted public servant, and a wise counsellor, who has earned and deserves the gratitude of his native land and the trust and admiration of leaders of many nations who have been his companions in the search for sanity, stability, international understanding and peace in the tangled affairs of mankind. If you read the summary of his career on the notice of this meeting and the recital of his achievements in the book of reference, you will find that his scholarship, his devotion to the public service, his many publications on the economic problems of our times, all speak eloquently for themselves.

For him, however, silence is often his mother tongue and it is only on very rare occasions that he speaks for himself. It is, therefore, a unique honour for us who are gathered at this great meeting of the Canadian and Empire Clubs that he

should have consented to speak to us in words which, I am sure, we will read, mark, inwardly digest and long remember. I will not take time to recite the achievements of this son of Quebec who is an honour graduate of the University of Toronto, an Honorary Doctor of Laws of the University of Toronto and an Honorary Fellow of the London School of Economics, the holder of many high international offices and distinctions. I will only say that he is a shining example of the enrichment of our Canadian citizenship by the fathers and sons of many races and many creeds who by their dedication and sense of duty have so magnificently justified their cordial welcome into the great family of Canadian citizenship.

I can best describe our guest today, I think, as the Keeper of the Lighthouse which warns the Ship of State of rocks ahead, helps to prevent it from being buffeted by the breakers and lights its passages through the turbulent waters of financial confusion. Those waters swirl from the rocky battlements of Parliament Hill through St. James Street, Bay Street, and into the unfathomed canyons of Wall Street.

This guide, philosopher and friend of the Chartered Banks of Canada is no doubt glad to leave the *Grand Banks* of Newfoundland to Joey Smallwood and *Hal Banks* to the not too tender mercies of the Parliament of Canada. Mr. Rasminsky, I believe, lives and moves and has his being under the guidance of three mottoes of proverbial wisdom—

All that glitters is not gold
Fair exchange is no robbery
Speech is silver—silence is golden

In the confident belief that the gold standard of honest speech will suffer no decline in the words which he will speak to you, it is therefore my honour to introduce a man of integrity, fidelity, wisdom and unremitting toil, who is emi-

nently qualified to speak to us on "The Work of the Central Bank".

MR. RASMINSKY:

I thank you for the opportunity of appearing before you today. For me this is very much an occasion. It is the first time that I have made a public speech since my appointment as Governor of the Bank a little over two years ago. I cannot honestly say that I have found the effort to avoid making speeches for this length of time to be a great hardship. On the contrary, I confess to an occasional twinge of longing for the olden days when it was not considered good form for central bankers to either speak or write a single word to explain the mysteries in which they were engaged. But those days are gone forever and I have to say that I approve their passing. I strongly support the contemporary view that central bankers have a responsibility to try to talk understandably about what they have been doing.

In any case, my silence has not been nearly so complete as the absence of public speeches might suggest. Apart from the very considerable amount of monetary and financial information which is made available each week and month, the Bank has published two Annual Reports during my term as Governor, and in these I have tried to explain what the Bank was doing and why. I have also issued press statements on the six occasions that the Bank Rate was changed. I have never been really hopeful that these Reports and press statements would earn me the Governor General's prize for literature, but they represented an effort to be as forthcoming as seemed possible at the time.

In addition, the Bank made a long written submission to the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance in May of 1962, and this was supplemented by some extended opening

remarks I made when I appeared before the Commission in Ottawa last January. The Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Chief Justice Dana Porter, and his fellow Commissioners then questioned me for three and a half days. When it was all over I had the strong impression that if there was anything of any consequence about the Bank of Canada that the Commission had not got on to the public record, it was not because the Commissioners had failed to ask the right questions but because I did not know the answers.

As this is my first public speech I thought that the most appropriate thing for me to do was to say what I think the business of central banking is all about and what view I take of my own responsibilities.

Nearly a century ago, Walter Bagehot, the English banker and journalist, said "Money will not manage itself", and the essential task of the central bank is to manage the nation's money. This task is obviously a public responsibility. The central bank is therefore, in all countries, a part of the general apparatus of government. But most countries, including Canada, have established their central banks on a basis which removes them from the ordinary machinery of government and endows them with a degree of independence, and thus of responsibility, which is not to be found in a government department. Presumably this reflects the view that the interests of the community will, over a period of time, be best served by arrangements of this character.

But since monetary policy is an instrument of public policy, and since it is conducted by the central bank under a statute passed by Parliament, it is clear that the Government must also feel responsibility for the policy which is followed. In the nature of things, the responsibility for day-to-day operations lies with the Bank of Canada, but the Government, in the person of the Minister of Finance, is kept fully informed about the policies being followed by the Bank, and

the Government has the opportunity and the responsibility to form its own views as to the appropriateness of the Bank's policies. If the Government should find the Bank's policies unacceptable, it must make its views known and this would naturally give rise to efforts to reach a common view as to the policies that should be followed. If this should not prove possible, then in the final analysis, in a democratic society, the views of the Government must prevail on this as on other matters. But this fact would not relieve the Governor of his own responsibility. The public is entitled to assume, as long as the Governor remains at his post, that the monetary policy followed is one for which he is prepared to take responsibility.

This is the principle of joint responsibility for monetary policy as I see it. I think this principle is now well understood and widely approved in Canada and that it is working well at the present time.

I should like now to go on to be more precise about what the Bank of Canada does. Virtually everything we do is done either as adviser to the Government, or as agent for the Government, or as a principal operating on our own account.

I attach great importance to the role of the Bank as adviser to the Government and the Bank tries hard to equip itself to discharge this role satisfactorily. But I am afraid that there is not much more that I can say about it here. The Bank's advice is given in private, and the Government is of course completely free to accept it or reject it, as it sees fit.

The Bank's activities as agent for the Government cover a wide area. Its operations in connection with the issue and retirement of Government of Canada securities and almost all of its foreign exchange operations are of this character. These involve extensive direct contacts with financial markets which are of course very useful in our role of adviser to the Government. Though it is the Bank rather than the

Government that financial markets see carrying on debt management and foreign exchange operations, our role is essentially that of adviser and agent.

It is in discharging its monetary policy function that the Bank acts as a principal: this is the sphere of its own accountability. Essentially, the Bank carries out its monetary policy function by varying the rate of growth of the cash reserves of the banking system, and thus influencing the rate at which the chartered banks add to their assets, in the form of loans and securities, and to their deposit liabilities. Changes in the rate of expansion of the commercial banking system tend, in turn, to have effects on interest rates and other terms of access to credit throughout the economy. The main duty of the central bank in the discharge of its monetary policy function is to control the trend of asset and deposit expansion of the chartered banks in such a way as to influence credit conditions in the direction that is appropriate in the economic circumstances.

The big question, of course, is what is "appropriate"? Unfortunately, there is no simple formula that will tell the Bank what kind of influence on credit conditions is appropriate in any particular economic circumstances. Monetary policy naturally receives a good deal of attention from people outside the central bank as well as from its practitioners, and for this we are very grateful, as we need as much help as we can get. But I am sure that all who have thought seriously about this matter agree that there is no simple set of rules which will tell the central bank at all times what it ought to be doing. I would be pleased beyond measure if there were a simple formula. It would be a great relief to have the central bank freed of the difficult judgments involved, judgments which we know to be beset with human fallibility. But I am afraid that it will never be possible in this business to turn to the back of the book and find the

right answer, or even to feed the data into a computing machine and confidently wait to be told what to do.

I have to confess that I am not able to give you a formula which we in the bank use to tell us what to do in particular circumstances. In our submission to the Porter Commission, we set out in some detail the factors which we seek to take into account in deciding how to proceed. If I were to attempt to summarize a very complicated matter in a single sentence, I would say that we spend a great deal of time and effort trying to understand what is actually happening throughout the economy, and we then come to a view about the conditions in credit markets that are most likely to encourage the sort of economic performance that public policy is endeavouring to achieve, and we try within the powers available to us to foster such conditions.

The precise contribution that monetary policy and changes in credit conditions can reasonably be expected to make varies with the circumstances. There can, of course, be all sorts of reasons for unsatisfactory performance of the economy, just as there can be all sorts of reasons for poor physical health of a human being. Changes in credit conditions are no more a cure-all for our physical ills. Monetary policy is only one among the instruments of public policy which influence the performance of the economy, and even the whole armoury of public policies cannot assure good performance if the basic trouble lies elsewhere—for example, in inefficient performance or lack of imaginative policies in any important part of the private sector of the economy or in conditions outside the country.

In fact, there is a great deal of difference of opinion about the extent to which moderate changes in credit conditions can be expected to influence the performance of the economy. I am inclined to think that most people tend to over-estimate the importance of monetary policy taken by

itself, but I also know from my own experience that there are occasions in which the vigorous use of the monetary instrument can be of very substantial help. I regard monetary policy as a necessary condition, though not a sufficient condition, for good economic performance. I therefore believe that monetary policy is a proper subject for worry at all times, and that it is worth a good deal of effort to try to get it right.

This may all sound very abstract. Let me make it more concrete by giving to you a series of snap-shot pictures of the economic situation on various dates during my period as Governor of the Bank, and let me recount how at those times the Bank arrived at its conception of what was the right monetary policy.

* * *

The date of my first snap-shot is June 24, 1962. This was the date on which the Prime Minister of the day announced that Canada was faced with a foreign exchange emergency, that the Government was determined to defend the exchange value of the Canadian dollar at the fixed rate established several weeks earlier and that a number of special measures were being implemented by the Government immediately to deal with the situation. On the same day the Bank issued a statement saying that the Bank Rate, which is the minimum rate at which the Bank of Canada makes advances to chartered banks, was fixed at 6% effective immediately.

The Bank Rate statement signalled a change to a very tough monetary policy. The principal elements going into the decision to make this change were these. First, Canada's foreign exchange reserves had fallen sharply because capital inflow had dried up at a time when Canada was buying more goods and services from abroad than it was selling abroad and therefore needed an inflow of capital to balance its international accounts. Secondly, higher interest rates in

Canada, as part of a co-ordinated programme to defend the Canadian dollar, would induce some Canadians to borrow abroad and to help restore capital inflows. Thirdly, if the exchange emergency were not effectively dealt with, our entire trade with the outside world would be seriously disrupted, and economic expansion in Canada would receive a severe setback.

Under these conditions the need for a tough monetary policy was crystal clear, and the advantages of hindsight have not given me reason to feel that less vigorous monetary restraint would have served the country better. As things turned out, the critical exchange position was soon overcome and the tough monetary policy was soon relaxed.

* * *

The date of my next snap-shot is any day in the first part of September 1962. By then a substantial net capital inflow had been re-established, and the threat to good performance of the Canadian economy from the exchange side was declining. In these circumstances, and in view of the large under-employment of Canada's labour force and plant capacity and the absence of any substantial upward pressure on prices, it seemed that the Bank could, consistently with the necessary maintenance of external equilibrium, make some contribution to economic expansion by encouraging an easing of credit conditions. This change in monetary policy was reflected in the reduction of the Bank Rate to 5½ per cent that was announced on September 7.

Economic developments in the next several months seemed to warrant a continuation of the policy of moving towards easier credit conditions, and the continued monetary expansion was reflected in further reductions of the Bank Rate to 5 per cent in October, to 4 per cent in November, and finally to 3½ per cent in May of this year. By that time interest rates in Canada had declined to the point where the

difference with rates in the United States was no longer offering much inducement to Canadian borrowers to go to the New York market for their money. From April to mid-July there was only a relatively small volume of Canadian borrowing in the U.S. new issue market.

* * *

I take as my third snap-shot the situation on October 23, 1962. What happened on that day illustrates one aspect of the way in which the Bank of Canada reacts to developments in financial markets. This was the date of the "Cuban crisis". The sharp increase in the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba severely shook the Canadian bond market—more severely, indeed, than it shook the bond market in the United States. Bond prices threatened to fall, the bond yields to rise, drastically. Even though the international political outlook was most disturbing, it nevertheless seemed to the Bank that there was nothing to be gained by the tightening in credit conditions that was threatening. The Bank therefore gave strong support to the bond market. We bought \$73 million of Government bonds on this date, and a total of \$111 million in three days. When market confidence recovered during the next few days, we resold many of the bonds we had bought.

This incident provides an exceptionally dramatic illustration of direct central bank intervention in the securities market to moderate the movement of prices and yields. There have been other occasions within the last two years in which the Canadian bond market has shown such an extraordinary degree of volatility as to warrant substantial central bank intervention. But we believe that in more normal circumstances it is preferable that the Bank of Canada should bring its influence to bear on interest rates indirectly, that it should refrain from large direct intervention in the long-term market and leave the market free to exercise its

own judgment on the day-to-day pricing of government bonds. This approach seems to us to be the one that over time will be most conducive to the development of financial machinery and practices best suited to serve the needs of the economy.

While on this subject of financial machinery. I would like to add that the Bank is also interested in other ways in which it can contribute to the development of financial institutions and practices best suited to serve the needs of the economy. I believe that we have taken useful initiatives, and have played a useful part, in a number of developments of this kind. One example is the rapid growth of the so-called money market in Canada. The closer the associations that we can maintain with financial institutions and financial markets, the more helpful shall we be able to be in matters of this kind. I hope that we shall continue to be able to play a constructive role as opportunity offers in the future.

* * *

My last snap-shot is going to be a very quick exposure. Between September 1962 and May 1963 interest rates in Canada fell. Subsequently, and particularly after the proposal for the U.S. interest equalization tax announced on July 18 (even as modified in Canada's favour three days later) an atmosphere of uncertainty developed in Canadian financial markets which was reflected in somewhat higher interest rates and also in a falling off in new capital issues. On August 12 the Bank of Canada recognized the situation by raising the Bank Rate from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. We made it clear that this was a technical adjustment which did not signal a basic change in policy. In the circumstances, this action helped to re-establish new issue activity.

* * *

This is as far as I intend to go with snap-shots. I stop, not because the scenery has stopped changing but because

prudence restrains me from showing you any of our more recent photographs. And happily, what I have been trying to do—that, is, to give you some illustrations of how various kinds of developments affect the central bank's ideas of appropriate monetary policy—does not require it.

The illustrations I have chosen to indicate some of the thinking behind monetary policy at certain points during the past two years have contained several references to Canada's external financial position. This is no accident. Whether one likes it or not, monetary policy in Canada in the last two years has had to give a good deal of attention to shoring up our external position. I would like therefore to conclude these remarks with some very general observations on this subject.

I spent the first few days of this month attending, along with the Minister of Finance, the annual meetings of the Bretton Woods institutions—the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These meetings are always interesting to persons involved in financial matters for they bring together representatives of treasuries and central banks from virtually the whole of the non-communist world. They provide a very useful opportunity for public and private discussion of national economic problems and the functioning of the financial system.

The most newsworthy feature of this year's meeting of the Fund was the wide agreement among the countries represented that it would be useful at this time to step up the tempo of the consideration being given to the adequacy of the present arrangements governing the operation of the world financial system. The International Monetary Fund will intensify its work in this area, and the Ministers of the 10 countries (including Canada), who in 1962 brought into effect a special arrangement to supplement the resources of

the Fund, instructed their Deputies to carry out together a companion study to that of the Fund.

I welcome this development. I think that continuous flexibility will be needed to keep the international financial system developing in accordance with the world's future needs. But I am sure that it would be a mistake to suppose that this intensified study heralds any radical change in the present system. The purpose is rather to find the lines along which the system should continue to evolve in order that it can gradually and smoothly adapt to changing circumstances.

There was another feature of the discussion at this year's annual Fund meeting which, though less newsworthy, seems to me to be of at least equal importance to the interest in possible modifications of the international financial system. This was the widespread recognition that no conceivable international system will work satisfactorily unless the major trading countries follow national policies that are consistent with an acceptable international equilibrium. It has long been recognized by the major trading countries that, unless the international financial system works reasonably well, there is little chance that they will be able to achieve their own national economic objectives. This in fact explains their interest in the international financial system. But it has not always been so clearly recognized that the international system cannot work well unless each major trading country pursues its national economic objectives by domestic policies that permit its balance of international payments to develop in a way which is appropriate to its position in the world community.

It is challenging to reflect upon the recent experience and the present position of Canada in this respect. There is increasingly wide agreement that our external economic performance has not been altogether satisfactory. It is happily true that during the past few years we have been

making good progress at reducing our net import surplus of goods and services—in the late 1950's this was running at a rate of about \$1,300 million per year, and by the twelve months ending June this year it had been reduced to about \$600 million. But our current account deficit is still high. Our dependence upon capital from abroad to pay for the import surplus of goods and services, and the associated increase in our large international indebtedness, have been elements of instability in our position. Our foreign exchange crisis of June 1962 was a very unpleasant experience for us, and it was also an unsettling experience for the world outside. Again this summer, at the time of the announcement of the proposed U.S. interest equalization tax, we got a sharp and unpleasant reminder of the risks involved in substantial reliance on foreign capital. In referring to reliance on foreign capital I have in mind *net* inflows; a reduction in our reliance on net capital inflows need not, of course, preclude continued large gross flows of capital in both directions across our international borders.

Our large and persistent reliance on net inflows of foreign capital to finance a current account deficit would have a different aspect if Canadian productive resources were being used to capacity. But this has not been the case. On the contrary, our levels of output and employment have been much lower than we are capable of sustaining. And it is certainly not without significance that the improvement in domestic economic conditions in Canada during the last couple of years has been accompanied by—and indeed has been closely related to—the sizeable reduction which has occurred in our current account deficit.

There is, in fact, a good deal of economic experience around the world indicating a direct connection between a country's good international performance and its good domestic performance. Over the period about which I have

just been talking, those countries that have shown a strong external economic performance—notably the countries of Western Europe—have also had the best records of employment and productivity, and those countries which have been in a relatively weak international financial position—notably some of the English speaking countries—have had the least satisfactory growth rates. There is no mystery about this. Countries which, whether through good fortune or good management of their affairs, succeed in achieving dynamic, flexible and efficient economies tend to find that they are strongly competitive internationally. Their good external performance in turn reinforces their good internal performance.

Part of Canada's economic difficulties in the last several years has arisen from a change in the external economic environment. This was extremely favourable in the first half of the 1950's and much less favourable since then. There is no practical way of insulating ourselves from such a change. But we need to find out how to float more buoyantly in whatever external economic environment we may encounter.

The recent improvement in Canada's economic position, both external and internal, is encouraging, but we must endeavour to keep up the momentum of improvement. What we need for that purpose is a combination of public and private policies that is favourable to the increase of our economic efficiency and to our capacity to adapt to change so that we can hold our own in a dynamic and competitive world. I am hopeful that this approach to our problems will commend itself to us, and that we shall more and more measure all our policies against this yardstick. I am confident that, to the extent that we do, we shall improve our prospects both of strengthening our balance of international payments and of increasing our levels of employment and output and our rate of economic growth. In other words,

we shall improve our prospects of achieving an economic performance that is satisfactory both in its internal and external aspects. As we accomplish this, we shall find that we are better able to play our role as mature and responsible members of the world community.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Mr. Arthur J. Langley, President of the Empire Club of Canada.

OCTOBER 24, 1963

Some Problems of a U.S.-owned Subsidiary Operating in Canada

AN ADDRESS BY General E. W. Rawlings
 U.S.A.F. (RET.)
 PRESIDENT
 GENERAL MILLS, INC.

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

The physical facilities and interests of General Mills are to be found in some 20 States and in 9 nations of the world, employing over 11,000 people in a fantastic variety of enterprises — chemicals, electronic components, weapon systems, missile equipment, milling, all types of consumer food products, and a wide variety of specialty products.

There appear to be few industries that this half-billion dollar giant does not serve or influence in some degree — and quite successfully too, from the look of the recently reported 47% increase in net earnings.

In 59 short years, its President has earned degrees in Economics and a Master's degree from the Harvard School of Business Administration and completed 30 very distinguished years of service to his country in the Air Force, becoming one of the youngest 4-star generals in the process.

He has won honours and awards at every turn, including several for heroism, and also including the O.B.E., and he has made quite an impact on his company in his four brief years as a civilian.

For General Edwin Rawlings is something of an oddity – here, we do *not* have a case of a top-ranking military man becoming a figurehead just for prestige purposes – *not at all!* Recognized as a top management expert, our guest *started* as *Vice President – Finance* and moved from the office of Executive Vice-President to his present position.

A man with strong views on the importance to a nation's business climate of its governmental philosophy, we welcome him most warmly to this forum and will be most interested in his views on the status of a U.S.-owned subsidiary operating in Canada. – *General Rawlings.*

GENERAL RAWLINGS:

When I accepted your invitation to appear here today as your speaker, I did so with great pleasure but also with a slight feeling of trepidation. It is an honour for me, as a private citizen of another country, to be invited to address an organization whose membership comprises such a substantial segment of the business leadership of Toronto and Canada. I particularly felt honoured when I glanced over the list of your previous speakers, in whose company I feel flattered to be included.

The trepidation arises from the fact – as someone else has noted in a different connection – that Canadians and Americans are two peoples *divided* by a common language. In my career, I have been called many things, some of which I would not care to repeat, but I have never, to my knowledge, been called a *diplomat*. I ask your permission, therefore, to speak to you in the only way I know how – with complete frankness and, perhaps, even with bluntness, in

some instances, but in every instance with the warm-hearted affection which I feel and which I am sure virtually all Americans feel toward the best neighbours any nation in all history ever had. I only hope that my American use of our joint mother tongue will not artificially create semantic problems where no factual problems actually exist.

That two peoples closely bound by ties of language, history and tradition can, on occasion, take widely different views of the same events is illustrated by an anecdote which I first heard during World War II. It concerns a Welsh regiment which invited a contingent of American officers to be guests at the regimental mess. During dinner and afterwards, a number of toasts were proposed and responded to, in the course of which several references were made to "The American Revolution." Finally, one Welsh junior officer leaned over to a comrade and whispered: "What *was* this revolution they keep talking about?" "Oh, it happened a long time ago," his comrade-in-arms replied. "It seems the bally Americans refused to pay their taxes, so we kicked them out of the Empire. They fought a war, trying to get back in. We whipped them, of course, and they've been out ever since."

Of course, you realize this isn't exactly the version printed in our American history books. On the other hand, there is the more recent story of the American school teacher who called on Johnny to name our recently added 49th and 50th states. "Hawaii and Canada," Johnny promptly responded. "No, Johnny," the teacher replied sweetly, "Hawaii and Alaska." "Oh, well, I was mostly right anyway," was Johnny's nonchalant reply, "because, after all, isn't Canada *part* of Alaska?"

What Johnny probably had in mind was that Alaska has now superseded Texas as our largest American state, and the young man felt that anything larger than Texas must

include practically everything. I am sure there are 18 million Canadians who would be glad to set him straight.

I could, of course, cite many other instances – some amusing and some more thought-provoking – of differences which exist between our two countries, particularly in matters of viewpoint. On the other hand, I could spend all of the time allotted to me and much more on the ties that bind our two countries together at deepest levels, beyond the reach of changing whim or transient public opinion on either side of the border. That I do not do this is because the facts and their implications are so well known to all of us as to need no elaboration: our three thousand miles of undefended border . . . our 150 years of peaceful co-existence . . . our blood brotherhood in two great human holocausts . . . our present partnership in the defense of peace and in the propagation of enlightened democratic ideals throughout the world. It would be possible to get quite eloquent on these matters, but frankly, I feel that both Canadians and Americans sometimes tend to attribute to themselves more credit than is deserved for this happy state of affairs. The long and continuing cooperation and mutual consideration between the United States and Canada have not been dictated by sanctimonious piety in either Ottawa or Washington, but by geography, history, the jointly shared devotion to democratic ideals and the principles of self-determination of peoples, and by bed-rock common sense. The great philosopher Santayana once wrote: "People cannot love each other unless they love the same ideas." The converse is also true. People who love the same ideas can argue with one another, disagree with one another, even develop considerable antagonism toward one another on specific issues. Ask any wife or husband. But in the ultimate, their interests cannot be fundamentally divergent, and when

a real crisis arises they present a solid front against external threats or pressures.

I have no authority to speak on international issues, but as a private citizen I submit that major differences which divide the United States and Canada are very, very few. I am aware that some military matters have recently attracted considerable attention. More prominent have been the normal problems of business and finance. It is certainly not my place, as an invited guest in your country, to take an active stand on either side of the issues created by the budget message of your new Finance Minister as delivered to Parliament late in June, nor in developments in this area that have occurred since. I can say that such developments here are being watched with great interest and not without sympathetic understanding by many on the American side of the border.

That current economic problems, not only here but in many other parts of the world, are complex and difficult goes without saying. In 1962, the Canadian growth rate was one to excite the admiration if not the envy of many other countries of the world, the United States not excluded. Yet rapid growth, however welcome, always brings problems along with it. Technological advances tend to produce some unemployment, even in times of business and industrial expansion. This is a situation which is no stranger to us in the United States. The imbalance in earnings between agricultural and industrial areas—which is at the base of Canada's currently adverse balance of trade, particularly with the United States—is also familiar to us. Your desire to protect your own national interests against foreign encroachment in all vital respects is also fully understandable from the human point of view. In this latter area, particularly, there are traps and pitfalls into which other nations with similar problems have fallen but which those who know

Canada feel confident Canadians will avoid. Your long history and firm tradition of level-headed progress, public stability and economic as well as political justice stand as assurance to all the world of Canadian ability to work through complicated problems to enlightened solutions. It is entirely possible that your efforts to find new answers to old problems within your own country may be a guide to us in facing problems of our own.

I speak with some personal interest on this point. As I'm sure you all know, the company of which I am President operates a subsidiary here in Canada, with our only Canadian plant located right here, at Rexdale—in the outskirts of your Greater Toronto Metropolitan Area. Though our operation represents only a very small part of the total foreign capital investment in your country, it is important to us. What is also important to us is the reputation as good corporate citizens which we have tried hard to earn in every community in which we operate in the United States and which we hope to merit in equal degree in your own community.

I have recently seen two photographs. One was a picture of the Rexdale area in which our plant is now located, taken just before the building of our present General Mills facility began approximately 10 years ago. The other was taken within the current year. The change in what the photographs show is significant, and I feel that there are few of you here who would not regard it as beneficial. From the front steps of our building in Rexdale one now looks in every direction to factories, plants and warehouses of all sizes and descriptions. A little more than nine years ago there was very little here to be seen except cornfields and pastures—more pleasant to the eye, perhaps, but far less promising with respect to the future of Canadian economic growth. All this might have happened without our help, of course, but the fact that

we were pioneers in this area is attested to by our telephone number—an impressive CH 4-1111.

Since 1954, General Mills' contribution to the Canadian economy has been substantial. In that period, we have spent in Canada more than \$58 million Canadian dollars. This includes nearly \$27 million for materials, approximately \$4½ million for land, buildings and equipment and about \$27 million for labour, professional services and other expenses.

In recent months, considerable discussion has occurred in Canada concerning what constitutes "good corporate citizenship" within your borders, with particular reference to considerations felt to be important to Canada in judging the value to your national growth of foreign-owned enterprises. In view of the fact that, in 1960, more than two-thirds of all foreign investments in Canada came from United States sources, we might as well simplify our discussion by assuming that the profits now to be discussed apply with special force to American investments, and so to the investment of General Mills.

First among these points, as I have seen them listed by your Prime Minister and others, is that raw materials should be purchased and processed to the greatest possible extent in Canada. I cannot speak for other American operations in your own country, but I can say that the availability of abundant and highest-grade raw materials used in our operations—mainly grains—was a major reason why we came to Canada with a manufacturing facility in the first place. Our operation simply would not make sense unless, with only a very few minor exceptions, it was carried through from start to finish exclusively within your borders. Naturally we buy Canadian wheat on the Canadian market, process and package it through the employment of your very fine Canadian labour and ship it by Canadian carriers to the Canadian

market. Except for the importation of American dollars, a very few highly specialized American-built machines and a handful of American management personnel, this is an all-Canadian operation.

Another point raised is that active pursuit of export markets should not be limited by the parent company. I am happy to say that we continuously look for opportunities to export from General Mills' Canadian plant. Thus far, those opportunities have been limited. We shall continue to seek them vigorously, however, and our management in Canada has been instructed to regard exports as a prime objective. We hope that our Canadian operations may some day enjoy certain export advantages over our United States operations in some areas of the world market.

Still another point made is that foreign-owned companies operating in Canada should make the greatest possible use of Canadian engineers, architects and other professional people, including advertising agencies and market experts. We have and do use Canadian professional people to the fullest extent in architecture, engineering, legal representation and in a multitude of other ways. We are represented in Canada by an all-Canadian advertising agency and spend substantial sums annually with Canadian market research organizations. In this respect, we feel that only by contributing to your economy where and when feasible can we expect to benefit from improvements in your economy as reflected in our own sales and profits. Beyond this, we are well aware of subtle differences in such matters as psychological attitudes, buying habits and taste preferences, which would, if ignored, adversely affect our enterprise here. We feel that no one knows Canadians like Canadians, and no one knows as much about doing business in Canada as those who have lived in and helped to create the Canadian business climate. In a word, we do not feel that we know as much about your

country and your people as you do. The help of Canadians in guiding our efforts to please Canadian customers has been and is invaluable to us.

Another aspect of good corporate citizenship mentioned by many Canadian sources is that fullest opportunity should be provided for Canadian employees at all levels, including managerial, scientific and technical personnel. Here there is simply no problem for General Mills. Canadian employees enjoy exactly the same opportunities to rise to executive and managerial levels from our Rexdale plant and offices as from any in the United States. Our company does not know the difference between Canadians and Americans where individual brains and ability are concerned.

When we started at Rexdale, we brought about 10 American employees. Today, we have only three. From the most recently hired maintenance man to high levels of management, our plant is manned by Canadian citizens, Canadian-educated and Canadian-trained.

Meanwhile, 10 Canadians have joined General Mills in the United States, taking positions in engineering, accounting, bakery service and home economics. One of the 10 has already returned to become plant superintendent at Rexdale. Others will come back over the years to help with our Canadian enterprise. Our reason for being in Canada is to make a profit. Other things being equal, a Canadian has an advantage in our eyes over an American in a Canadian operation.

One idea advanced in the recent budget message to your Parliament, would, if implemented, seriously affect our Canadian company. I refer to the matter of tax advantages offered to foreign-owned subsidiaries in which Canadians hold at least 25 per cent of equity stock. In your own reaction to this message, difficulties inherent in the plan have already been aired in considerable detail by Canadian spokesmen,

particularly members of your business community who are aware, I am sure, that "all that glitters is not gold." General Mills, of course, will abide by any decisions of your people and your government. We rely upon the good sense and the traditional level-headedness of the Canadian people to find an answer which protects your interests without inequity to others, who have come here in good faith under previously existing regulations. To my mind, particularly in view of the tremendous wealth of untapped resources which exist in this northern half of the continent, the important thing for your future is to ensure the greatest possible active employment of venture capital within your boundaries. Re-shuffling of capital already at work does not create new wealth. The greatest promise for the continued and accelerated prosperity of Canada lies in the creation of new opportunities. I am sure that the implications of what I am saying are obvious, and are not lost on this business-minded audience.

That foreign capital, wisely invested and appropriately regulated, can contribute to the growth of a dynamic and forward-moving economy such as yours is well demonstrated by United States history. When we first became an independent nation, we fell heir to great territories and tremendous wealth in natural resources far beyond our original development capabilities. Probably most Americans are unaware of the tremendous debt we owe to European investors in providing the financial sinews necessary for the speed with which we developed into an integrated and highly industrialized continental economy. Canada today stands with vast potential. If history is to repeat itself, we Americans may soon look with envy at the tremendous forward thrust of your economy, which might easily become one of the wonders of the economic world.

In all the foregoing, I have remained deliberately general, in order to avoid touching on matters which others are

better qualified and more advantageously placed than I to discuss. On one other matter, I should like to be a trifle more specific, though even here I shall merely lay a point of view before you for consideration, without any effort on my part to influence your judgment.

This touches on a matter of geography. Basically, certain problems arise on our North American Continent because politically the dividing lines run east and west, whereas economically they run north and south. This accounts for some of the problems which plague an eastern manufacturer in Toronto or New York when he seeks to tap the rich and growing markets of British Columbia or California. His product must be shipped 3,000 miles or so from the site of manufacture to the site of consumption, with tremendous penalties in freight and delivery time, no matter on which side of the border a given plant operates.

This problem is highlighted for us by our own situation. Our many General Mills customers in British Columbia must be served from the Rexdale plant which I have been discussing, and yet General Mills has in California a manufacturing facility capable of serving consumers of Western Canada much more efficiently, and at lower cost, if artificial barriers were reduced or swept away. In the East, our Rexdale plant would undoubtedly expand rapidly in capacity and in the number of dollars poured into your community if it could be used as a source for meeting the needs of consumers in the eastern United States, thus relieving strain on our present Buffalo facilities. The reasons why this cannot be done may make sense from political and nationalistic viewpoints, but they do not make sense economically. The upward thrust which occurs when economic law is given precedence over political considerations is illustrated by developments of the past few years in the European Common Market. I am aware that Canada needs protection in many

areas because of the disparity in industrial and economic size of our two countries. But I have a strong presentiment that if our respective governments and our respective business communities began to give time and thought to the possibility and means of stimulating and unclogging north-south trade channels and a de-emphasis of existing east-west lines of demarcation, something of increasing importance to the whole North American Continent might ultimately ensue. I present this thought for what it is worth, and in full awareness that it not only raises practical problems but also runs counter to many traditional viewpoints.

So far, I have made only one brief reference to the military alliance which exists between our two countries, as one of the firmest bulwarks of world peace in which we all live under the shadow of world catastrophe. I shall not expand upon this topic now. The reasons why your country and mine must rise above any minor frictions, irritations or temporary clashes of interests in order to protect our joint survival are starkly obvious. I know how often those professionally charged with the defense of the United States have said to themselves and others: "Thank God we have Canada on our northern border." I hope and believe you will never have reason to regret that you have us to the south, rather than someone else. Our geographical position, not to mention our jointly inherited dedication to freedom and the dignity of man, give us no choice but to stand together.

Our ability to work together has been demonstrated in two World Wars, in the United Nations, in the North American Treaty Organization, in Hemisphere Defense and may some day be expanded, according to recent indications, by participation of Canada in the Organization of American States.

Let us hope that present clouds may some day be lifted and the ominous threats that make Canadian and United

States solidarity essential may disappear, so that our close cooperation may continue in peace. Meanwhile, in the absolute, your country and mine have to be friends in all most important ways. Everything we jointly hold dear . . . even civilization itself . . . demands it. Thank you.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Past President Harold R. Lawson.

OCTOBER 31, 1963

New Brunswick-1963

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable Louis Robichaud
PREMIER, NEW BRUNSWICK

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Mr. Roberts, — Distinguished guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada. At 38 years of age, Louis Robichaud appears before us as Canada's youngest premier and one of its most dynamic. A product of our famous Acadian heritage, this lawyer turned servant of his people, has forged a brilliant career in a remarkably short time.

He has not become — yet another item in the Maritimes' traditional export of brains to the rest of the nation, but has remained at home, to give leadership and hope of greater opportunities to his native province and her Maritime sisters. In so doing, he is perhaps making his greatest contribution — to the fuller, better balanced development of Canada as a whole, — to a greater awareness of the rich meaningfulness of his part of our nation to the very concept of nationhood.

In coming here today, Sir, you honour the Empire Club of Canada greatly, and we welcome your contribution to the greater understanding so vital to this period in the life of Confederation. Gentlemen: The Premier of the Province of New Brunswick, Louis J. Robichaud.

MR. ROBICHAUD:

I am grateful for this opportunity to talk with you during the Diamond Jubilee season of your Club —

and I am proud to come to you as a "Fellow Canadian".

The sixty years of your existence as a Club have witnessed many changes—changes, I imagine, in the aims and purposes of your Club—changes indeed in this Confederation of Provinces that we very proudly call Canada. In his day, Sir Wilfrid Laurier called upon the people of this land to become mature and steadfastly united, and, in confidence that they would, he proclaimed that "The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada".

I am persuaded to believe that even in these days of change and stress, Sir Wilfrid would hold firm to his prediction if he were here. Like Sir John A. MacDonald, and other of our great statesmen, he had a deep and abiding faith in the people that make up this nation and the heights to which we could climb in developing our land with united determination. I share that faith.

In your pamphlets it is noted that The Empire Club of Canada is (and I quote) "Dedicated to the interests of Canada and the Commonwealth, in partnership, for peace and progress, with our allies and friends throughout the world". Such a dedication testifies to the evolution of our nation and the maturity of thought that has made it possible.

At this particular time in history, our maturity as a nation can be measured by the number of our people who are truly "dedicated to the interests of Canada". I believe that number includes the vast majority of Canadians in each and every province.

The future of our nation will depend largely upon the degree and direction of our dedication. If our dedication should degenerate into mere lip-service and be so lacking in direction that extremists of any persuasion become recognized as the voice of Canada, then we shall deserve the kind of Canada that will surely be ours.

Extremism has not fared very well in Canada in the past

—and it should not in the present or the future. There have been organizations formed in this and other nations, in times past, that were dedicated to the destruction of a specific racial minority, or religious belief, or cultural heritage. Some such associations still exist in our nation and, although their original dedication was directed to the mutual destruction of one another, the militancy of men of reason in their midst has won out against the extremists. Their dedication is now directed to the enhancement of their respective beliefs, rather than mutual destruction, and the mutterings of the few die-hard extremists still in their midst are mere reminders that evolution is preferable to revolution.

Recent months have given an unwarranted amount of publicity and attention to a small group of dissidents in the Province of Quebec who called themselves the F.L.Q. Their violent activities, which have been met with the full force of the law, are reminiscent of the few bomb-throwing Bolsheviks who were on the loose in the United States in the 1930's. They too passed away and the Confederacy of the United States of America managed to survive.

Shallow thinking in some quarters has led people to believe that perhaps the F.L.Q. is representative of the general attitude of our fellow Canadians in the Province of Quebec. That is as ridiculous as it would be to suggest that most Toronto business and professional men are secretly affiliated with the Cosa Nostra.

Extremism leads to violence. Violence and intimidation by force have no place in our Canada, whether they emanate from the F.L.Q., the S.I.U., or any other group that endeavours to undermine the authority of the people and the nation. What should be done about it?

Each of us is entitled to many rights and privileges as a Canadian citizen. Although we are quick to claim those rights at the least provocation, too many of us are reluctant

to shoulder the equal weight of our responsibilities as Canadian citizens. Too many have come to regard citizenship as a spectator sport. Too few will accept that rights and privileges must always be accompanied by responsibilities in order to give them true value.

It is the responsibility of Canadians today to become militant and thoughtful supporters of the Canadian Confederation. The voice of reason reminds us that a brilliant future awaits us all within the union. We must not, therefore, become embroiled in wasteful bickering and resentment over things that provide meat for emotional debate, but serve only to divide us against ourselves.

We must be strong enough to honour and preserve those concepts that were so carefully embodied in our Constitution. We must be vigilant enough to recognize and correct the causes of friction that may endanger the Confederation. We must be wise enough to use our very diversity as one of the principal foundation pieces upon which our nation will grow in strength and stature.

This is, without doubt, a time when the voice of reason must be heard—not in angry argument—but in the calm and rational dialect of responsibility. That voice must become predominant in *every* province of the nation—in order that extremists of *all* persuasions will come to know, once again, that true Canadianism can swallow them up in its strength and leave barely a trace of their passing. You may accept as fact that I am proud to be a Canadian and that I am seized with a determination to remain one.

I am also a New Brunswicker—of which I am equally proud. And now, I would like to speak as briefly as possible about the economy of New Brunswick and the Atlantic Provinces as it has been and as it is now emerging in relation to the national economy.

The Atlantic Provinces of Canada have, for many years,

been the object of an incredible amount of economic research. Many well-intentioned measures have been instituted—designed to bolster the regional economy. All of these measures have been related to expediency and have tended to ignore the real issues. The result is all too well known. Despite the national participation in equalization payments, adjustment grants, shared-cost programmes and subventions, in the past five years our region has received one-quarter of a billion dollars in unemployment insurance benefits. By any yardstick you may use—income per capita, productivity, capital investment per year—we are but a fraction of the national average. In short, we have been falling farther and farther behind the economic evolution of Canada.

It is obvious that a patch-work or stop-gap approach has not solved the inequity of retarded economic growth. We have maintained, in various submissions to the federal agencies that the economic vitality of the Atlantic Provinces is closely allied with national policy. We have maintained that the relationship between the Atlantic Provinces and the other provinces of Canada demands examination within the context of national unity—one of our professed aspirations. We who live in the Atlantic region have been exposed to the hard facts of economic life since 1867—with very few periods of relief. It has been our “original sin” to have looked up the St. Lawrence River for omnipotent help and guidance. Generations of wishful gazing have left us weak and frustrated.

It has been an historical pastime to blame the “slow growth economy” of the Atlantic Provinces on Confederation. We in New Brunswick have also participated in this sport. Now, however, we recognize that a fundamental weakness in our own outlook has contributed in large measure to our distressed condition. We have been gazing

wishfully when we should have been working—working toward our own economic emancipation!

I have mentioned the large sum which has been distributed in the Maritime Provinces as unemployment relief. It is tempting to imagine what a stimulus would have resulted from a capital investment of this magnitude in industrial facilities. It is distasteful to us—as it must be for the rest of Canada—to be cast in the role of the semi-productive, geographic deposit on the east flank of Canada! Not only is it distasteful to us, it is completely unacceptable. And we intend to do something about it. *What* are we going to do?

It is exceedingly clear to us that our own efforts must be directed to wholly productive ends. We will use all of our talents and resources to raise our production, train and educate our people and exploit our natural and locational resources. We will increase the income of our people without the necessity of transfer payments.

As the eastern flank of the northern half of the continent, we are one of the first points of physical contact with markets that border on the Atlantic Ocean. This is an advantage which we have not exploited fully in the past. This is an advantage which we will exploit now. It is no secret that industrial development and foreign trade are synonymous with the national problems of Canada. The wheel has come full turn.

The problems which we have tried unsuccessfully to solve over these many years have now become the problems of the nation. This places us in a position to appreciate the considerations involved. We at least know many of the solutions that are *not* applicable. Although negative in nature, this is invaluable experience. We will be most careful not to be counted out of these considerations, for we have a major contribution to make in the national fabric. It is no secret that the Atlantic Provinces are ill equipped, at the

moment, to make financial contribution to the national scene. However, this does not disqualify us from participation in the activity.

As a unified social force we represent the human content of a market, and as such we are exchanging our historical role of passivity for one of militant participation. History supports the fact that we of the Maritime Provinces have been prone to consider the federal sector as some type of patronizing superior. We categorically reject this definition of the federal sector. The federal sector must be composed of each of us and work for the mutual benefit of all of us. Anything short of equality, both economic and otherwise, for all members of the nation is a mockery of the ideals expressed by Confederation.

Two important developments have taken place in the Atlantic region in recent months—both of which give us much cause for hope. One of these is the recent impetus that has been given to a realistic, wide-based industrialization programme in the Province of New Brunswick. You will hear more of this in the future. The other important development is the recent reactivation of the Atlantic Development Board. As you are aware, the Atlantic Development Board is the federal agency designed to provide stimulus to the economic growth of the Atlantic Provinces. The Board has available to it a fund of some \$100,000,000.

The disposition of this fund has been the subject of much conjecture in all of the Maritime Provinces, both in the circles of government and the area of private industry. It might be expected that we would pounce upon this fund and expend its value on a series of short-term expediencies. We have not. New Brunswick considers this fund *and* the activity of the Atlantic Development Board to be of indispensable value. Clearly the amount of the fund is not sufficient to begin any serious programme of wide-based industrialization. We want to be very careful not to identify

our industrial development programme with the limitations of this fund. The fund is available for projects which are not readily handled by traditional financial sources. Our recent meeting in New Brunswick with the members of the Atlantic Development Board indicated that the Board considers its function to be that of providing constructive filling for the gaps that appear in the regional economy.

Recall that our conclusion of stop-gap measures is one of disdain. We still hold that conclusion, but we do recognize that there are areas that require attention. The Atlantic Development Fund can be utilized in providing parts of the infrastructure that we will require as our industrial picture takes form.

The timing on the reactivation of the Atlantic Development Board and the revitalization of our own industrial development programme is a happy coincidence. We are seizing the opportunity that now presents itself to the Atlantic Provinces and, confidently, we expect to make a worthy contribution to the economy of our Province as well as to the whole nation. Neither we nor the federal sector must allow the Atlantic Development Board to degenerate into entrenched bureaucracy. It represents the embryo of a regional integration which must be encouraged to mature. All of Canada must support the philosophy of the operation.

The rapidly changing face of the earth—changing with modern technology and the release of pent-up national aspirations by many retarded societies—this rapidly changing situation respects no tradition—no history. The splendour of today's giants may well be the broken images of the morrow; the fortunates of today—tomorrow's beggars.

In these days, when both our neighbours to the north and south are programming manned voyages in space, we in the Atlantic provinces are still seeking a solution to the classic problem—how do we provide gainful employment for the majority of our people. The limited capital invest-

ment in our area is a pitiful sum in comparison to the vast sums spent for scientific research in outer space. It is a paradox indeed that we are seeking development of secondary roads within our province on somewhat the same schedule that our neighbours chart for the moon. Our aspirations are of necessity bound more closely to mother earth. We recognize that our obligations are of an immediate, material nature. The problem of employment within a progressive economy is yet to be solved.

Many years of industrial development effort impose upon us the conclusion that—industrial development where a minimum number of jobs are purchased with a long term waiver of provincial profit participation is not progress. We require a more intimate association with the capital generation process than that of simple landlord of factory buildings. To that end we have designed our programme around a lively participation in the industrialization of our province. We have planned an integrated structure of enterprises which will be competitive within the international picture. I have alluded in recent months to the fact that New Brunswick is on the march. This is more than imagery. Our objectives have been crystallized into specific industrial facilities and our programme has been publicized as “Operation Prosper”.

We invite Canadian participation in these investments. We exhort you, our fellow Canadians, to recognize our efforts as a part of the national growth.

Let us not find ourselves in the position of complaining about foreign investments in New Brunswick's programme. Canadians have first chance at our programme. However, we intend to implement our plans with any entrepreneur who indicates faith in our regional future. It would be a sad commentary on Canadianism if our fellow citizens rejected us at this point of our development.

We feel, and we can document this point extensively, that the federal capacity for fomenting industrial progress has been directed in many directions, but not toward the Atlantic Provinces. The natural resources of our area are—or at least should be—too well known to require comment. Suffice to say that New Brunswick possesses the raw materials to establish a significant diversified industrial operation—certainly sufficient to alleviate our economic distress of past generations.

Our experience with the federal sector indelibly imprints upon our plans the fact that we must direct our own economic emancipation. This we are prepared to do. This we will do. I have spoken mostly of what we plan to do. Let me tell you something of what we have already done in recent months. We have vast expanses of forest, covering some 80 per cent of our total land area. This resource has been sadly under-developed down through the decades. New policies have brought amazing new activity in this sector. A multi-million dollar groundwood mill is nearing completion and a kraft mill is scheduled for early construction.

The most modern papermill in Canada, and the first, I am told, in some 25 years, is now under construction. Total investment by both private and public sector at this site is estimated at close to one hundred million dollars over the next five years. The first softwood plywood mill east of the Rockies is now in production. A new hardwood veneer industry is flourishing. Many other new wood-using industries are either now in production or in preparation for it.

C.I.L. has only recently opened a new, multi-million dollars chemical plant that will produce chlorine and caustic soda for the pulp and paper industry.

We also have the most extensive proven deposits of base metals that are known today. They are being brought into

production at several locations. Only last week, I was pleased to participate in the announcement of the site of a smelter-chemicals complex that will begin construction this fall, as soon as I am given a moment to turn the first sod, with an initial investment of twenty-nine millions. Present and planned investment in this resource field exceeds one hundred millions.

Our first electronics manufacturing plant has been in production for more than a year.

Many more millions are being invested in the fish catching and processing industry. A new distillery is nearing completion. New secondary manufacturing plants are being developed at an increasing pace.

All of this and more is taking place in New Brunswick—one of the four Atlantic Provinces. Our sister provinces are also displaying similar initiative.

Our only source of regret is the fact that such a large proportion of this vast amount of capital investment has had to come from other than Canadian investors. The Belgians, British, French, Italians, Americans, West Germans and others are showing a faith in our future out of all proportion to that displayed by Canadian investors. This we regret, but we refuse to stagnate in the midst of underdeveloped and undeveloped resources, both natural and human.

There is today a new spirit and a new determination in the Atlantic Provinces. You will be hearing more about us in the coming months. We ask that you try to keep perspective with us as we turn the eastern flanks of the nation into a reliable and aggressive industrial entity—even more worthy of respect and dignity in a proud nation.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Past President Col. W. H. Montague.

NOVEMBER 7,
1963

Should Advertising Be Abolished?

AN ADDRESS BY Mr. David Ogilvy
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
OGILVY, BENSON, & MATHER

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

The jacket of our guest's new book quotes other observers to this effect: "Fifteen years ago, David Ogilvy *hit* Madison Avenue like a regiment of Royal Hussars and ever since, he has *beaten* the Americans at *their own* favourite and frantic profession."

Now, what sort of background and experience would *you* expect to have to enable you to achieve this particular brand of success? Well—you must have been born in England—about 52 years ago.

—*then*—training as a Parisian chef must be offset by being a salesman in Scotland.

—*then*—become second-in-command to Dr. George Gallup—of Gallup Poll fame—where you learn to tell *all* cleverly—but balance it quickly, with wartime service in British Security—where you learn to cleverly tell nothing.

—*then*—toss in a dash of diplomatic corps service in Britain's Washington Embassy—but before that influence is too deeply rooted—become a Pennsylvania farmer.

– *then* – rush in where angels fear to tread, and invade one of the toughest fields in the world – Advertising!
 – *finally* – stick to your guns and do not let your eyes waver from your goal – *the top* – not of the *quantity heap* – *but* of the *quality ladder*!

Do all this – and you are the Chairman of the Board of Ogilvy Benson & Mather – our guest – whom we welcome most warmly, David Ogilvy.

MR. OGILVY:

I remember coming to Toronto for the first time in 1943, on my way to a British Intelligence training camp.

That was a top secret place. We spent most of our time learning how to kill people with our bare hands, firing revolvers, and detonating plastic explosives. We explained all these explosions to the local police by pretending that we were experts in bomb demolition, which we really knew nothing about.

One day the police telephoned to say that an air force plane had dropped a bomb in a field nearby. The bomb had failed to explode, so would one of our experts drive over and de-louse it? One of our chaps, who had never seen that kind of bomb in his life, volunteered. Thus was our cover-story preserved. A very brave man, I always thought.

* * *

Not long ago my socialist sister Lady Hendy invited me to agree with her that advertising should be abolished. I found it difficult to deal with this menacing suggestion, because I am neither an economist nor a philosopher. But at least I was able to point out that opinion is divided on the question. Arnold Toynbee “cannot think of any circumstances in which advertising would not be an evil.” Professor Galbraith of Harvard holds that advertising tempts people

to squander money on "unneeded" possessions when they ought to be spending it on public works.

But it would be a mistake to assume that every liberal shares the Toynbee-Galbraith view of advertising. President Roosevelt saw it in a different light:

If I were starting life over again, I am inclined to think that I would go into the advertising business in preference to almost any other . . . The general raising of the standards of modern civilization among all groups of people during the past half century would have been impossible without the spreading of the knowledge of higher standards by means of advertising.

Sir Winston Churchill agrees with Mr. Roosevelt:

Advertising nourishes the consuming power of men. It sets up before a man the goal of a better home, better clothing, better food for himself and his family. It spurs individual exertion and greater production.

Almost all serious economists, of whatever political colour, agree that advertising serves a useful purpose, *when it is used to give information about new products*.

The Victorian economist Alfred Marshall approved of "informative" advertising for new products, but condemned what he called "combative" advertising as a waste. There was a streak of prissiness in Marshall; his most illustrious student, Maynard Keynes, once described him as "an utterly absurd person." Be that as it may, what Marshall wrote about advertising has been cribbed by many later economists, and it has become orthodox economic doctrine to hold that "combative" – or "persuasive" – advertising is economic waste. Is it?

My own clinical experience would suggest that the kind of informative factual advertising which the economists endorse is more effective, *in terms of sales results*, than the "combative" or "persuasive" advertising which they con-

demn. Commercial self-interest and academic virtue march together. If all advertisers would give up flatulent puffery, and turn to the kind of factual, informative advertising which we have provided for Rolls-Royce, for Shell Gasoline and for London Life here in Canada, they would not only increase their sales, but they would also place themselves on the side of the angels. The more informative your advertising, the more persuasive it will be.

In a recent poll Americans thought-leaders were asked, "Should advertisers give the facts and only the facts?" The vote in favour of this austere proposition was strikingly affirmative. Factual advertising is very widely regarded as a Good Thing. But when it comes to so called "persuasive" advertising for one old brand against another, the majority of economists follow Marshall in condemning it. Rexford Tugwell, who earned my undying admiration for inspiring the economic renaissance of Puerto Rico, condemns the "enormous waste involved in the effort to turn trade from one firm to another." The same dogma comes from Stuart Chase, Pipou, Braithwaite, Baster, Colston Warne, Fairchild, Morgan and Boulding. They all say essentially the same thing, many of them in almost the same words. Read one of them, and you have read them all.

I will let these professors in on a curious secret. The combative-persuasive kind of advertising which they condemn is not nearly so *profitable* as the informative kind of advertising which they approve. My experience has been that it is relatively easy for advertising to persuade consumers to try a *new* product. But they grow maddeningly deaf to the advertising of products which have been around for a long time. Thus we copywriters get more mileage out of advertising new products than old ones. Once again, academic virtue and commercial self-interest march together.

Does advertising raise prices? There has been too much

sloppy argument on both sides of this intricate question. Few serious studies have been made of the effect of advertising on prices. However, Professor Neil Borden of Harvard examined hundreds of case histories. He reached conclusions which should be more widely studied by other professors before they pop off on the economics of advertising. For example, "In many industries the large scale of operations made possible through advertising has resulted in reductions in manufacturing costs." Professor Borden believes that advertising, "though certainly not free from criticism, is an economic asset and not a liability." Thus he agrees with Churchill and Roosevelt. However, he does not support all the shibboleths of poor old Madison Avenue. He found, for example, that advertising does not give consumers *sufficient information*. My experience at the working level leads me to agree.

It is worth listening to what the men who pay out huge sums of their stockholders' money for advertising say about its effect on prices. Here is Howard Morgens, the head of Procter & Gamble:

Time and again in our company, we have seen the start of advertising on a new type of product result in savings that are considerably greater than the entire advertising cost . . . *The use of advertising clearly results in lower prices to the public.*

In most industries the cost of advertising represents less than 3 per cent of the price consumers pay at retail. But if advertising were abolished, you would lose on the swings much of what you saved on the roundabouts. For example, you would have to pay about \$4 for the Toronto Star if it carried no advertising. And just think how *dull* it would be. Jefferson used to say that he read only one newspaper, "and

that more for its advertisements than its news." Most housewives would say the same.

Does advertising encourage monopoly? Many economists think that it does, and I am bound to confess that I think so too. It is becoming progressively more difficult for small companies to launch new brands. The entrance fee, in terms of advertising, is now so large that only the entrenched giants, with their vast war chests, can afford it. If you don't believe me, try launching a new detergent in the United States with a war chest of less than \$10,000,000. However, I am all in favour of monopolies. I spend my life trying to make all my clients monopolies.

Does advertising corrupt editors? Yes, it does. The publisher of an American magazine once complained to me, in righteous indignation, that he had given one of my clients five pages of editorial and had received in return only two pages of advertising.

I have often been tempted to punish editors who insult my clients, but I have never succumbed to the temptation. When one of our advertisements for the British Industries Fair appeared in an issue of the *Chicago Tribune* which printed one of Colonel McCormick's ugly diatribes against Britain, I itched to pull the campaign out of his paper. But to do so would have blown a gaping hole in our coverage of the Middle West, and might well have triggered a brouhaha about advertising pressure on editors.

Should advertising be used in politics? In recent years it has become fashionable for political parties to employ advertising agencies—here in Canada, in the United States, and even in England.

I regard this use of advertising to sell statesmen as the ultimate vulgarity. In 1952 Rosser Reeves advertised General Eisenhower as if he were a tube of toothpaste. He created fifty commercials in which the General was made to

read out hand-lettered answers to a series of phony questions from imaginary citizens. Here in Canada we witness the undignified firing of advertising agencies by Government Departments every time the party in office changes. But let the agencies accept their share of the blame: if you achieve success through patronage, be ready for ignominious dismissal when your patron loses an election. My agency in Canada will remain politically independent, because my colleagues, as individuals, must be free to do their political duty according to their persuasion. And we shall stand aloof from all Government business so long as it is linked to patronage—no matter what it may cost us.

Can advertising foist an inferior product on the consumer? Bitter experience has taught me that it cannot. On those rare occasions when I have advertised products which were inferior to other products in the same field, the results have been disastrous. If I try hard enough, I can write an advertisement which will persuade consumers to buy an inferior product, *but only once*—and most of my clients depend on *repeat* purchases for their profit.

The President of Procter & Gamble believes that advertising can actually accelerate the demise of an inferior product. He says, "The quickest way to kill a brand that is off in quality is to promote it aggressively. People find out about its poor quality just that much more quickly."

Is advertising a pack of lies? It used to be, but no longer. Fear of becoming embroiled with the Federal Trade Commission, which tries its cases in the newspapers, is now so great that one of our clients recently warned me that if any of our commercials were ever cited by the FTC for dishonesty, he would immediately move his account to another agency. The lawyer at General Foods actually required that our copywriters *prove* that Open-Pit Barbecue Sauce has an "old-fashioned flavour" before he would allow us to make

this innocuous claim in advertisements. The consumer is better protected than she knows, not only by Washington, but also by Ottawa. I cannot always keep pace with the changing rules laid down by the various bodies that regulate advertising. The Canadian Government, for example, applies one set of rules to patent medicine advertising, and the United States Government a totally different set.

Some American States prohibit the mention of prices in whiskey advertisements, while others insist upon it; what is forbidden in one state is obligatory in another. It can only take refuge in the rule which has always governed my output: "Never write an advertisement which you wouldn't want your own family to see."

Does advertising make people want to buy products they don't need? If you don't think people need deodorants, you are at liberty to criticize advertising for having persuaded 87 per cent of American women and 66 per cent of American men to use them. If you don't think people need beer, you are right to criticize advertising for having persuaded 58 per cent of the adult population to drink it. If you disapprove of social mobility, creature comforts, and foreign travel, you are right to blame advertising for encouraging such wickedness. If you dislike affluent society, you are right to blame advertising for inciting the masses to pursue it. If you are this kind of Puritan, I cannot reason with you; I can only call you a psychic masochist. Like my fellow Scotsman Archbishop Leighton in the 17th century, I pray, "Deliver me, O Lord, from the errors of wise men, yea, and of good men."

Dear old John Burns, the father of the Labour movement in England, used to say that the tragedy of the working class was the poverty of their desires. I make no apology for inciting the working class to desire less Spartan lives.

Is advertising a vulgar bore? C. A. R. Crosland thunders

in the *New Statesman* that advertising "is often vulgar, strident and offensive. And it induces a definite cynicism and corruption in both practitioners and audience owing to the constant intermingling of truth and lies." This, I think, is now the gravamen of the charge against advertising among educated people. Professor Ludwig von Mises describes advertising as "shrill, noisy, coarse, puffing".

He blames the public, as not reacting to dignified advertising. I am more inclined to blame the advertisers and the agencies—including myself. I must confess that I am a poor judge of what will shock the public. Twice I have produced advertisements which seemed perfectly innocent to me, only to be excoriated for indecency. One was an advertisement for Hathaway Ladies Shirts, which showed a beautiful woman in velvet trousers, sitting astride a chair and smoking a long cigar. My other transgression was a television commercial in which we rolled Ban deodorant into the armpit of a Greek statue. In both cases the symbolism escaped me, but, by George, it escaped nobody else.

I am less offended by obscenity than by tasteless typography, banal photographs, shrill copy, and cheap jingles. If you went into a store to buy a frying-pan and the salesman started singing at you in rhyming couplets, you'd run. It is easy to skip these horrors when they appear in magazines and newspapers, but it is impossible to escape them on billboards and on television. I have a passion for landscape, and I have never seen one which was improved by a billboard. Where every prospect pleases, man is at his vilest when he erects a billboard. When I retire from Madison Avenue, I am going to start a secret society of masked vigilantes. We will travel about the world on silent motor cycles, chopping down billboards at the dark of the moon. Will any jury convict us when we are caught in these acts of beneficent citizenship?

It is *television* advertising which has made Madison Avenue the arch-symbol of tasteless materialism. If governments do not soon set up machinery for the stricter regulation of television—both commercials and programmes—I fear that the majority of thoughtful men will soon come to agree with Arnold Toynbee that “the destiny of our Western civilization turns on the issue of our struggle with all that Madison Avenue stands for.” I have a vested interest in the survival of Madison Avenue.

The vast majority of thought-leaders now believe that advertising promotes values that are too materialistic. The danger to my bread-and-butter arises from this: what thought-leaders think today, the majority of voters are likely to think tomorrow.

On the whole however, it is my belief that advertising is a benign and useful force in the body economic. Indeed, if I did not think this, I would find some other way to earn my living .

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Past President Major James Baxter.

The Lieutenant- Governor's Reception

On the afternoons of November the 12th and November the 13th, the Empire Club was signally honoured by Her Majesty's representative in Ontario, the Honourable Earl Rowe, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. His Honour very graciously observed the sixty years of service to our community and the nation rendered by the Empire Club, by holding a Reception on each day for members of the Empire Club and their ladies.

His Honour and Mrs. Rowe received the guests at their suite in Queen's Park. Their kindness could not have been greater, as was their warm interest in the Empire Club and the many members who were honoured to visit with them on such a delightful occasion.

The Empire Club will always be grateful to His Honour for his generosity and thoughtfulness in paying such a magnificent tribute to the Empire Club in observance of its 60th Anniversary Year.

NOVEMBER 14,
1963

World Political Changes and Their Effect on Defence

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable
Douglas S. Harkness, M.P.

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

The Honourable Douglas Harkness needs little introduction to this audience. In his 60 years, he has distinguished himself in three career areas—as a teacher, a soldier and a parliamentarian. This combination tells us a great deal about this man—for through his various careers runs a common thread—a concern with people—with the country—and with service to both. He is that rare person who can command respect from friend and foe alike—and alike from friends who may or may not agree with him.

This is because of his undoubted sincerity and unshakable dedication to those principles in which he believes—and for which he has always been prepared to stand up and be counted. The Empire Club warmly welcomes a very distinguished Canadian—Douglas Scott Harkness.

HON. DOUGLAS HARKNESS:

I should like to thank the Empire Club for the invitation to address you today. It is indeed an hon-

our to appear on the platform which has been occupied by so many distinguished speakers over the 60 years that your Club has been in existence.

There has been a great deal of discussion in recent years on what Canada's defence policy should be. Unfortunately much of it has been based on emotional reactions, partisan approaches, and preoccupation with equipment. Very little of our defence discussion has been based on what should be the most important considerations; that is, the political alignments in the world, what these are likely to be in the foreseeable future, and the defence policy best adapted to meet them and to provide Canada with the maximum degree of security at a bearable cost. In addition, it is hard for most people to get away from old ideas, valid for long periods in the past, but not valid now because of changed world political conditions and the very rapid technological changes which have taken place. Another way of expressing it would be to say that, to some extent, our minds are still attuned to pre-1939 and 1914 conditions.

Since the last world war two directly opposite political tendencies, or movements, have been at work. Firstly, there has been a strong feeling on the part of many people in all countries that the day of the nation—particularly in the old nineteenth century sense—is over and that larger multi-national political groupings, leading to some form of world government, are the inevitable shape of the future. In fact, many believe such a development is essential if the peoples of the world are not to destroy one another and civilization at the same time. Secondly, strong nationalist feelings have developed in many places where they did not exist, or existed in a very rudimentary form, and this has led to a multiplication of national governments, particularly apparent in the political fragmentation which has taken place in Africa and Asia. This has arisen particularly as a revolt against and

repudiation of the colonialism of the last century, but the total result has been a greater emphasis on nationalism and national sovereignty all over the world. We even see it in movements for separate Scottish and Welsh governments in the United Kingdom and on the part of the separatists for an independent French-Canadian State in Canada.

As a result of two world wars and the development of atomic weapons, we have a completely different political power set-up than existed in the roughly one hundred years from the end of the Napoleonic wars to the outbreak of the first world war in 1914. We have at the present time two super powers—the United States and the Soviet Union, each with its allies or, in the case of Russia, its satellites. Real world power resides in these two blocs, to which nearly all the militarily and economically strong countries adhere. However, the large number of so-called uncommitted countries constitute a group where conditions in many cases are unstable, where border disputes and other causes of disagreement are common, and where the two great power blocs are in many cases competing with each other.

Any full-scale atomic war could only come about by decision on the part of the Soviets to use their atomic power to impose their system on the rest of the world, or by miscalculation on their part. Both of these are remote possibilities as long as the Western World remains sufficiently strong to convince the Soviets that a nuclear attack could not be successful and that the result of it would be their own destruction. In other words, the nuclear deterrent of the West must be maintained.

The rising power of China and her quite apparent will to challenge Russia for the dominant position in the communist world is another reason, and a most compelling one, I believe, why Russia is not likely to mount an attack against the West. At the same time, the enormous and rapidly

increasing population of China poses a constant threat to the Asiatic part of Russia, because this is the area into which the Chinese could most readily and naturally move in search of more food and resources. This, I believe, is a basic reason why it will be impossible in the foreseeable future to get Russia to agree to any meaningful disarmament agreement.

At the present time there are wars or border incursions of one sort or another going on in Yemen, between the Moroccans and Algerians, in South Viet Nam, in the newly formed State of Malaysia, and others threatened in various places. The new countries involved in these affairs feel free to let nationalist feelings and the personal ambitions of their rulers have full play, because they know that the results will not be serious to the world as a whole if the interests of the great powers are not involved and that, as a result, they stand a good chance of being allowed to fight matters out themselves without too much interference from the remainder of the world as far as the use of actual military force is concerned.

Under these circumstances, what is a proper and logical defence policy for Canada? In considering this I would suggest that we first rid ourselves, as far as possible, of two very deep-rooted ideas or convictions. The first is the old idea that our defence forces exist primarily to meet any attack on our own territory from sea, land, or air. In days past this was the almost universally accepted idea for the existence of our defence forces. A large number of people still seem to believe that the Canadian Navy, Army, and Air Force should be able to carry out this function independently. The second is that the absolute sovereignty of Canada must be maintained under all circumstances. When any country enters an alliance with another, or even signs a trade agreement with it, some part of its sovereignty is given up. No country at the present time can provide for its own defence

entirely by itself, thus adherence to alliances is a necessity, and this means giving up some national sovereignty. We have already done this through membership in the United Nations, in NATO and in NORAD. To put forward as an argument, that we should not follow any particular course in defence because it would involve a loss of Canadian sovereignty, is to conveniently blindfold ourselves to what has already been done, and to be completely unrealistic to what present conditions impose upon us.

I believe Canada's defence policy must be based primarily on strong support of NATO and a willingness on our part to make the proportionate contribution to its strength which our population and economic position warrant. I include in this NORAD, our regional agreement with the U.S. for the air defence of this continent. The Western Alliance of NATO has prevented any general war breaking out during the past 15 years and, at the same time, has stopped the Soviet take-over of any further countries in Europe. I am convinced that it will continue to maintain peace as long as it remains strong and united. The deterrent power of the Alliance depends on its military strength, both nuclear and conventional, and on its evident will to use this strength if necessary. The avowed Soviet aim of imposing communism on the world has not changed, and there are likely to be continued probing actions on their part to make what gains they can, and to test the will of the West to resist. The Russian adventure in Cuba was an outstanding example of this, and demonstrated very clearly that when the United States, backed by the other members of NATO, showed that they were willing to employ all their military strength if necessary, the Russians were not ready to carry the matter to an all-out war. The recent interferences with convoys going into Berlin are examples of the type of probing action

which is likely to continue, with a hope of eroding the Western position and discovering whether weakness exists.

The military contributions of each country to NATO are based on the ability of each to contribute to the common defence. They are arrived at by negotiation and agreement and must of necessity change with changing circumstances. There is no reason why a particular type of contribution should always remain. It might well be increased or decreased, or replaced by another. The main thing is that when it has been agreed that certain forces will be provided, and other members of the Alliance depend on them being available, they should be produced. Otherwise the whole force is weakened, or other countries have to assume the burden, with the consequent loss of a spirit of unity and cooperation within the Alliance.

Canada has agreed to make certain naval, army and air forces available to NATO and, in my view, we must meet these commitments until such time as we secure agreement to a change in them. We must not unilaterally decrease them by simply failing to replace equipment as it becomes worn out or obsolete. This, I fear, is what is happening at the present time in regard to our naval contribution. The ships which we have had available are wearing out and no replacements are being built. Therefore, in view of the long time required for a naval shipbuilding programme, the strength of our Navy will inevitably decline.

The value and desirability of each of the military forces we make available to NATO have been questioned and demands made that they be withdrawn, generally without any effective replacement being proposed. Some of these demands are made by those who, whilst acknowledging the value of NATO, seem to think that we should have a free ride. Others have a repugnance to nuclear weapons and appear to think that we can avoid any moral guilt for their

existence in the Alliance if we refuse to have anything to do with them ourselves. I submit that such attitudes are neither responsible nor realistic. If we believe in the Alliance and its ability to protect the freedom of the Western world, we must be prepared to go all the way with it.

Small wars, and the threat of them, have led to United Nations intervention in a number of places. Such disturbances to peace are likely to continue for a long time and peace-keeping forces will be required. Canada has been called on for military assistance in practically all of the United Nations interventions to date, and is likely to be similarly involved in the future. Our support of the United Nations in these peace-keeping activities should be one of the important features of our defence policy. It must be realized that the United Nations cannot, because of its composition, intervene effectively as between the two great power blocs but, with the cooperation of these, it can contain and arbitrate on disputes between smaller countries and prevent these from spreading. There are many in Canada who say that a United Nations Force should be our only, or at least our main military effort. This disregards the fact that the general peace is really kept by NATO and that the United Nations can deal only with small wars. It is also unrealistic because no one can tell what kind of forces may be required from us by the United Nations, and their needs can be met only out of existing well-balanced navy, army and air forces with a good transport capability.

On the basis of past experience, and the conditions which exist in the new countries where United Nations intervention is most likely, what we should be able to provide particularly are specialist troops having high technical qualifications, such as signallers, medical personnel, vehicle and equipment repair personnel, well-trained staff officers and troops trained in guerilla warfare. The latter is some-

thing on which we should be putting, I believe, a good deal more emphasis.

The original function of our defence forces—to protect and maintain control over Canadian waters, land and air—of course remains. This requires much the same type of well-balanced forces as those needed to meet the United Nations requests, and forces capable of carrying out the one function can also carry out the other. For the local protection of Canada the geographical placing of such forces is, of course, important, together with an improved air transport capability so that troops and equipment can be moved rapidly.

The direct defence of Canada also requires strong militia or reserve forces, and it is only by the maintenance of such forces that the numbers of trained men and organized units required can be provided. A strong militia is also essential to carry on the survival operations which would be the most important immediate task of our armed forces in the event of a nuclear attack. In addition, reserves are necessary to provide some of the personnel likely to be required for United Nations operations—the Korean War was an example—and to provide the numbers required for rapid expansion of our regular forces in any emergency.

There has been a good deal of talk about the organization of our forces, particularly that the three services should be completely integrated into one in order to cut out duplication and thereby reduce the numbers involved in, and the cost of administrative services. A considerable number of steps have been taken toward administrative unification and I think there is no question that we must continue to move as rapidly as possible in this direction. I see no great value, and in fact a good deal to be lost, in attempting to put all of our servicemen into one uniform and having one service to which they all would belong. However, practically all of the

administrative services can be and should be integrated.

Mixed formations, particularly of Navy and Air Force, and of Army and Air Force are likely to be employed more and more in the future. Such formations should be set up and trained and the command and operational procedures worked out. We have made a good start in this regard in the Maritime Commands of the East and West coasts, which employ Naval and Air Force Units in one unified anti-submarine operation on each coast. To effectively control and operate mixed formations a simplification and unification of the command functions of our defence forces is necessary.

In conclusion I would like to say this. Defence is too important a matter, in regard to our relations with our allies and to the part that we must play in preserving world peace, to be a matter for partisan political argument and advantage. Too often during the past four to five years this has been the basis on which defence matters have been discussed. The considerations which should be paramount are how Canada's security can best be attained and how we can best play our part in the maintenance of world peace. I would hope that discussion of the subject in future would be more and more on this basis.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by J. H. Corrigan, Q.C., a Director of the Club.

NOVEMBER 17,
1963

Responsible Nationhood

A SERMON BY Right Reverend H. R. Hunt, D.D.
SUFFRAGAN BISHOP OF TORONTO

On Sunday, November 17, 1963 at 11 a.m. a special 60th Anniversary Commemorative Church Service for members of the Empire Club was held in St. James' Cathedral, Toronto. The sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. H. R. Hunt, D.D., Suffragan Bishop of Toronto, a member of the Empire Club.

BISHOP HUNT:

"I proclaimed a fast that we might humble ourselves before God to seek from Him a straight way for ourselves, our children and our goods."—Ezra 8.21.

In this service of praise and thanksgiving, marking the Diamond Jubilee of the Empire Club of Canada, my subject, as a member of the Club, is Responsible Nationhood. For the text I have chosen a passage in one of the obscure and rather difficult historical books of the Old Testament, the Book of Ezra. Despite its textual and other problems, this small book proclaims a glorious event. It records a fact of tremendous historical importance in the annals of the Jewish people. It tells of the re-birth of a nation after many years of exile and captivity. Under the blessing, protection and favour of the Persian King Artaxerxes, successor to Cyrus and Darius, the Jews were allowed, in large numbers, to

return from Babylon to Jerusalem, and joining the remnants of their countrymen there, rebuild the sacred city and reconstitute the ancient worship in the Temple.

Already Nehemiah, the King's cup-bearer, had begun the great work of restoration. Now Ezra the scribe, reinforced by heads of houses, leading men and a great company of people, and laden with treasure from the King, set out on the holy mission of rebuilding the nation, giving it order, strength and purpose. This was his high destiny under God, his life's vocation. At the outset of the journey he set the basis, not only for the safe conduct of the people from Babylonia to Palestine, but also for responsible nationhood: "I proclaimed a fast that we might humble ourselves before God and seek from him a straight way for ourselves, our children and our goods."

In any nation throughout history the well-being and progress of the people require the setting of a straight course. There must be the choice of high principles and worthy ideals and steadfast allegiance to them. It was in order that such a straight way might be made for our Canadian people, ourselves, our children and the responsible use of our goods, our vast national resources, that sixty years ago this month the Empire Club of Canada was founded. At that time certain leading citizens of this community, representing various responsibilities in society, legal, educational, military, business, and the press, were deeply concerned about national tendencies and problems. There was talk of a Canadian separatist movement, breaking the historic ties with the Motherland. There was interest in annexation to the United States of America. Were these proposals, to sever the bond with Great Britain or to become part of the American Republic, setting a straight way under God for Canada? The founders of the Empire Club thought not.

So under the initiative and at the invitation of Lt. Col.

James Mason the famous meeting was held at Webb's Restaurant in this city on November 18th, 1903, at which the decision was made to "form an organization following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by men speaking with authority on the issues of the day, and having a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy." The following week at the constitutive meeting the principles and rules were adopted by the 70 charter members, and the policy accepted as "the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire." A week later, December 3rd, the inaugural luncheon was held, with more than 100 present, under the chairmanship of Lt. Col. Mason as President and with the Rev. Professor William Clark as the speaker on the subject: "The Empire Club of Canada and Its Ideal of Imperialism."

Within a short time membership rose to 500 and was held firm at that point, so that soon a lengthy waiting-list developed. Week by week, year by year, the meetings have continued until now there is a record of 59 illustrious names in the Presidency, including the present holder of the office, Mr. Arthur Langley, who read the First Lesson at this Service. Each year the addresses given at the luncheons have been printed in full in a handsomely bound Year Book. It is fascinating reading to peruse these volumes from the 1903 edition, through all the years of storm and stress, war and peace, adversity and prosperity, and to note how the high standards of responsible nationhood and imperial sentiment and loyalty have been maintained. Of particular interest, in our national situation to-day, is the call of a French Canadian M.P., the Honourable L. P. Brodeur, Minister of the Interior, in March, 1904, for the union in Canada "of all creeds and races in one grand effort for the development and the progress of this fair Dominion." To this we add the judicious word of another great Canadian of cherished

memory, the beloved Professor Maurice Hutton, one-time Principal of University College, Toronto, in his address in February 1904: "We trust to the French element: if we do our duty by it: if we really mingle with it: why should we not, for example, accept that ancient flag of theirs, the Lilies of France, which has no other home throughout the world, and add it to our own Union Jack? We trust to the French element: if we honestly unite with it and make it one people with us—we trust to the French people to introduce all the logic and the science, the art and the literature which always reach their height in Frenchmen or Greeks." Here indeed is a brave and prophetic plea for biculturalism!

To-day, with a membership of 2,500, the Empire Club of Canada faces a world and a responsibility vastly different from that of the founding year, 1903. At that happy, far-away time, Empire had its finest hour. Rudyard Kipling's *Recessional*, in exultant recognition of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, embodied the spirit of that nostalgic period. Now, after two devastating wars, the rise of new and powerful imperialisms, their deadly struggle for supremacy, the transition of many peoples and nations, under Britain's wise and benign direction, from colonial status to independence, the phenomenal and frightening advances in science, the pressures of secularism, technology and automation, the new morality which is no morality: all of these trends, events and social changes have revolutionized society. Since 1903 our world has undergone a total metamorphosis.

New occasions teach new duties, and the duties of responsible nationhood to-day are many and enthralling. Our country and the great Commonwealth of which it forms an important part, despite the world-shaking changes of the past sixty years, have a contribution of tremendous value to make in the world of to-day. Now, no less, perhaps even more, than in past years, the aspirations expressed so nobly

in the prayer for Empire and Commonwealth, as found in our Book of Common Prayer, are both relevant and meaningful: "We beseech thee to continue thy living kindness to us, that, united, free and mindful of our stewardship, we may through thy grace fulfil thy purpose, that our Commonwealth may be a witness to thee among the nations of the earth, to the advancement of thy glory and the good of all mankind. Grant that the heritage received from our fathers may be preserved in our time, and handed down unimpaired to our children: and that from generation to generation we may remain a united people, loyal to our Sovereign and our country."

To do all this means, not only God's guidance, but dedication and resolute effort on our part. It means the setting of a straight course and holding steadfastly to it. Here the action of Ezra, the national leader of the restoration period in Jewish history, is especially pertinent for us: "I proclaimed a fast that we might humble ourselves before God to seek a straight way for ourselves, our children and our goods."

Fasting means discipline, complete control of body and mind. To-day, as in all ages, responsible nationhood begins with strict discipline for the individual and society at large. Note how the First Lesson appointed for this Service stresses repeatedly the absolute necessity of discipline for national health. This is the true way of wisdom: "Be disciplined by my words and you shall profit: long for them and you shall be trained by their discipline. True beginning is desire of discipline—and desire of wisdom promotes to a Kingdom."

Our age is not an age of discipline. It is an age of self-indulgence, of creaturely comforts, of soft, luxurious living, with status measured in terms of prestige homes, prestige automobiles, prestige connections. It is a selfish age, that is a self-seeking age, and therefore, in many respects a corrupt

age. Evidences of corruption are all around us, pressing in on every side. Our business as responsible citizens, seeking responsible nationhood for our country, is to search out the straight way. Adhering loyally to it ourselves we set the standard for others, influencing them by word and example. This is the point of the words of Wisdom: "Strict scrutiny comes upon the powerful: therefore learn wisdom and fall not from the right way."

One of the fruits of discipline is humility, "to humble ourselves before God." Humility gives perspective, seeing ourselves in right proportions, not an end in ourselves but accountable for what we are, what we say and do to God. What Lord Tweedsmuir said in his Memoirs during the war years is particularly applicable to-day: "Our achievement in perfecting life's material opportunities has produced a mood of self-confidence and pride. Our peril has been indifference. I believe that the challenge with which we are now faced may restore to us that manly humility which alone gives power. It may bring us back to God. In that case our victory is assured."

May I add further that the setting of a straight way for our nation involves more than discipline and religious perspective, the fruit of humility. It means the responsible and large-hearted care of our fellowmen wherever they are, whoever they are. In 1903 foreign aid was a foreign term. To-day foreign aid is one of the primary compulsions and responsibilities of national life. Last week's announcement in Parliament of the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, that our total foreign aid programme will be increased in 1964 to about 180 to 190 millions of dollars, including grants and loans, as compared with 120 millions this year, is certainly a step in the right direction. It raises Canada from $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1% to $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of Gross National Product, equal to Japan, but still leaving us,

with all our prosperity and affluence, behind Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, the United States, Portugal and France. Giving this amount to our needy brethren in other lands, both in and beyond the Commonwealth, we give half of the standard set by the United Nations' Organization as the minimum for any nation for foreign aid, that is 1 % of Gross National Product. With this dismal record before us, just how meaningful for us are those words in to-day's Lesson from the Book of James: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this—to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction. . . .?"

Yes, indeed, in the words again of John Buchan: "To-day the quality of our religion is being put to the test. More is being challenged than the system of ethics which we believe to be the basis of our laws and liberties. I am of Blake's view: 'Man must and will have some religion: If he has not the religion of Jesus, he will have the religion of Satan, and will erect a synagogue of Satan.' I believe that civilization must have a Christian basis and must ultimately rest on the Christian Church." Here surely is a straight course, a clear direction and purpose, for ourselves, our children, our nation. As you go forward in the principles and programme of the Empire Club to all the opportunities and glories of the future, hold to this course. So will you be blessed yourselves and an inspiration and a blessing to Canada.

NOVEMBER 21,
1963

What is Wrong with Parliament?

AN ADDRESS BY Mr. Peter C. Newman
NATIONAL AFFAIRS EDITOR OF MACLEAN'S
MAGAZINE AND AUTHOR OF *Renegade in
Power: The Diefenbaker Years*

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Before we say Grace, let us pause briefly. The citizens of Toronto have suddenly and tragically lost their Mayor and Chief Magistrate—and we of the Empire Club have lost a good friend and fellow member. Let us observe a moment of silence in tribute to his memory and in sympathy for his family.

INTRODUCTION

Peter Newman is yet another example of how Canada has been enriched by the importation of bright, hard-working young men.

Born in Austria, raised in Czechoslovakia, he spent a good part of his formative years trying to keep one step ahead of the Nazis, finally fleeing through occupied France and thence to England in a small boat.

His Canadian background includes Upper Canada College, the University of Toronto, McGill, a Master's degree in economics, and service in the Royal Canadian Navy.

He came to *Maclean's* from the position of assistant

editor of the *Financial Post* and has rapidly developed into one of Canada's foremost observers of the Parliamentary scene.

He is not really here today in his capacity, as an author, but rather as National Affairs Editor of *Maclean's*, and we welcome him warmly, as he addresses himself to the challenging topic, "What's Wrong With Parliament?"—Mr. Newman.

MR. NEWMAN:

I don't pretend for a minute that *Renegade in Power* is the best book that could have been written about the Diefenbaker Years. But I firmly believe that the validity of such a book lies in the fact that important political events should be recorded from a contemporary viewpoint, as well as being exhumed half a century later.

Many of my critics say that I should reveal my sources. But I believe that it is the historian's duty to list sources and attribute exact references; it is, on the other hand, the journalist's obligation to protect the privacy of those who have befriended him with information. I wrote this book as a journalist.

As a matter of fact I had about a thousand sources. I tried to be so thorough that during one of my trips to Prince Albert, I even had my hair cut by Mr. Diefenbaker's favourite barber. I'd like to say that this intrepid bit of research yielded some pearl of insight into Mr. Diefenbaker's character. But actually, all the barber said was: "Well, John's always treated me right"—and it wasn't much of a haircut either. Fortunately some of my other sources were more productive.

The sense of aversion that's been expressed to a book written about a living public figure is, I think, probably unique to Canada—and due in large measure to a lack of

literary sophistication in this country. Such biographies are commonpalce in the U.S. and the U.K.

The other criticisms of my book have been about my title *Renegade in Power*.

I'd like to use this occasion briefly to justify my choice. I picked the word "renegade" to describe Mr. Diefenbaker for three reasons:

1. Mr. Diefenbaker was a renegade in the sense that he went against the principles of Canadian Conservatism. The ordinary Canadian Tory who believed that his party stood for individual responsibility (free enterprise) and the British Connection, must have found his ideals placed in great jeopardy by the six years of John Diefenbaker's stewardship. Welfare payments increased 100% and Mr. Diefenbaker's opposition to the U.K.'s entry into the E.E.C. strained Anglo-Canadian relations to an unprecedented degree.

2. Mr. Diefenbaker was a renegade as well in the sense that Robin Hood was a renegade. That is, he tried to operate outside the power groupings of his time, attempting to take from the rich (provinces) and give to the poor. But like Robin Hood, he enjoyed only a short-range success. By aiming his appeal at the anti-Establishment, non-urban sector of the population, he balkanized Canadian politics and eventually lost his mandate.

3. Mr. Diefenbaker was also a renegade because, in my judgment, he became a traitor to his own cause. In the 1957 and particularly 1958 election, most Canadians gave a little of themselves to the outraged advocate from Prince Albert, because he then seemed like a man aspiring to become a leader with the clear sense of mission of a Winston Churchill. But once in power, he interpreted the people's acclaim as adequate proof of his greatness and thus betrayed the trust placed in him by the majority of the Canadian people. No other term but "Renegade", it seemed to me,

summed up dramatically enough these assessments which my book makes of Canada's thirteenth prime minister.

I'm delighted that most critics of my book have noted that I tried hard to be fair to Mr. Diefenbaker. The Prince Albert politician did many worthwhile things while he was in power. It is possible, I maintain, to admire his ideals and his instincts, without respecting his performance. I think Mr. Pearson's troubles in these past months have demonstrated just how hard it really is to be the prime minister of this country. But that's enough about times past. Let's turn to the current political situation.

In the last few months in Ottawa I have sensed a feeling of profound uneasiness among thoughtful politicians of all parties. The most enlightened feel a terrible and mounting frustration at how little they're able to do in solving the country's basic and chronic problems.

Canadian politics seems to have changed focus. Instead of upholding some great principle or other, the parties now seem to concentrate all the skills they can buy on trying to manipulate public opinion.

In parliament, the Liberals harp continually about the mess left behind by the Conservatives, while the Conservatives never tire of pointing out that the Government is really carrying on policies originated by them, when they were in power. Both points of view are of course completely irrelevant to the business of managing the nation's affairs.

I would point out that the sickness of Canada's political situation cannot be viewed in isolation. There seems to be something wrong with the parliamentary system itself. Look at the western democracies. Italy seems incapable of supporting a working government of any kind. In France, democracy has temporarily been shelved. Even such quietly dependable nations as Norway, Holland, and Belgium are experiencing grave difficulties making their parliamentary

systems work. Congress in the U.S. is virtually immobile. Only last Sunday, James Reston of the *New York Times* wrote: "Representative government itself is increasingly the object of ridicule in Washington. The men who have the power to improve it are either indifferent or helpless."

I don't believe that there exists a simple explanation for this malaise in the West. But I suspect that there is some correlation between the speed of technological advances and the apparent obsolescence of the democratic parliamentary system. At any rate, this is a vital challenge and Canada must soon overhaul its parliamentary system. If we don't, we may as well declare Parliament Hill a historic site with the politicians playing three performances a day to curious tourists.

The Canadian politicians are fond of replying to all this that it's not their fault—but *our* fault. The voters, after all, didn't give any party the majority on which our two-party system is based.

There is little doubt that the last two elections, indecisive as they were, did drastically change the voting roots of Canada's main political parties. Last April 8, country voted against city, catholic voted against protestant, the big town voted against the villages, people with higher education voted against the less sophisticated.

The result is that we have two provinces—Saskatchewan and Newfoundland—in which one of our two major parties has no seats at all. In the whole of the Prairies, the Liberals have only 3 out of 48 seats. Although $\frac{2}{3}$ of the voters opposed the Diefenbaker government, only 42% of the electors supported the Liberal Party of Lester Pearson.

The Conservative Party, which throughout Canadian history has traditionally been the expression of the manufacturing interests, has under its present leadership become

a rural and resource-based movement, with only a pitiful vestige of big-city support.

The New Democratic Party, which was supposed to be nourished by the agrarian background of the CCF, has lost its farm support and emerged instead as a declining but still important competitor with the Liberals for the loyalty of urban voters. My prediction for the NDP is that its representatives will forever tread the weary road of the splinter party, improving Canadian society, without ever actually governing it.

The Social Credit, which until June 18, 1962, was a semi-serious right-wing prairie invention, has now somehow become an instrument of French-Canadian disillusionment.

I believe that Social Credit is finished as a national force. At last count—this morning—there were six factions among the two dozen Social Crediters in the House. “Smiling Bob” Thompson, the leader of the second largest of these factions, is probably the most convinced and most convincing spokesman Social Credit has ever had.

How are the Liberals now in power at Ottawa really doing? The answer has to be: better.

After Walter Gordon’s budget, the Party—so recently elected on the basis of its managerial competence—was totally demoralized. I remember one disillusioned Liberal coming up to me after the Gordon budget was beginning to fall apart, shaking his head and saying: “Donald Fleming’s budgets may have been pre-Keynesian; but Walter’s was pre-Cambrian.”

But Walter Gordon has recovered considerably since then, and I for one am convinced that he will not leave the Cabinet during the shuffle expected this Christmas. He has two great sources of strength: Lester Pearson’s unflagging

personal friendship and broadly-based support within the Liberal Party organization.

Gordon remains an influential member of the Pearson cabinet. In most other cabinets, the minister of finance deliberately casts himself as a villain who holds up the spending proposals of his colleagues until they prove to him that their pet schemes are really essential. But in *this* cabinet, Gordon, instead of being the stubborn defender of the public purse, is the chief advocate of bold proposals for quick spending. This switch in the finance minister's traditional behaviour is supremely important in understanding the performance of the Pearson cabinet to date.

Under John Diefenbaker, cabinet ministers were angular men, self-contained in their ambitions. Spurred on by Diefenbaker's indecision, they fought him and one another with gusto. The result—particularly during the final two years of Tory rule—was an all but complete breakdown of cabinet decision-making.

With Lester Pearson at the head of the Privy Council table, the cabinet chamber has become a different place. It has acquired the low-key camaraderie of a Rideau Club dining room. The mood of cabinet deliberations is set by Pearson himself, and he tends to approach problems from a point of view that's more diplomatic than political or economic. The emphasis always is on "finding a way," on striving for compromise, whether or not it's the very best answer possible.

I've come to the conclusion that the Liberals' equanimity about the future borders on arrogance. Before 1957, most Liberals *thought* they were the only political party capable of giving Canada efficient government. After six years of Diefenbaker they believe they *know* it's true and they can't imagine that anyone will ever dare turn them out again.

One result of all this is that the floating vote—that is

those Canadians who vote according to no set pattern—is the largest it's ever been—I would guess at close to 40 per cent of the electorate.

That's an important statistic. The Liberals were able to maintain themselves in power for 22 years before 1957, because they went into each contest with a hardrock voting margin of about 40 per cent, then during the campaign itself they always managed to increase this total by 7 per cent. In 1949, for instance, they jumped from 42 per cent to 49 per cent of the vote in the campaign. In 1953, from 43 per cent to 50 per cent. John Diefenbaker's great accomplishment of the 1957 campaign was to steal that 7 per cent jump from the Liberals. The Tories went into the campaign with 31 per cent and ended up with 38 per cent. This 7 per cent rule, incidentally, held true even for the great sweep of 1958. The Conservatives started the campaign with just over 46 per cent and received 54 per cent of the total vote.

One reason for the high level of the floating vote today is that our political organizers haven't yet found a way of capturing the loyalty of an important and growing block of voters: the inhabitants of the suburbs.

Even under the present distribution of seats—and don't forget that we're still voting on a population distribution based on the 1951 census—the next election will be the sixth under these outdated figures. But even under today's distribution the suburban areas of Canada now control seventy seats in the Commons. No one knows how this capricious element of the new voting population can be best appealed to.

The other element currently baffling the professional politicians in Ottawa is how to deal with separatism in Quebec. I was in Quebec City recently, and noticed that a local general insurance agent was advertising his services, in

Le Droit, by using the slogan "WE INSURE EVERYTHING EXCEPT CONFEDERATION."

Despite the unrest that has developed under his regime, I believe Canada is very fortunate to have Jean Lesage as Premier of Quebec at this time. He is attempting to use the power of his government to divert the current wave of French-Canadian nationalism into the kind of positive action that would make Quebec a bulwark against U.S. cultural domination of Canada. I hope he succeeds.

I think it's dangerous to oversimplify the Quebec situation. One of the generally accepted facts about Quebec today, for instance, is that Rene Levesque is an ardent separatist. I question this assumption. Of course Levesque is a nationalist, but he's also (and I dislike the term) a leftist.

The important point here is that all of the separatist groups are right wing groups, and I for one don't believe that Levesque could ever ally himself with such elements.

Finally, let me go out on a limb and say a few words about the future:—

I predict that John Diefenbaker will receive a vote of confidence at the Conservative Party's annual meeting in February, and that he will lead his party into the next election campaign. There are two main reasons for this: the opposition that exists to his leadership within the party is not polarized—it has not been able to fasten itself unto any alternate figure. Also, Mr. Diefenbaker is irrevocably convinced that he is destined to be Prime Minister again and he will not hesitate to harm his party's long term prospects in attempting to fulfil that self-imposed destiny.

I believe there are two trends on a collision course bound to explode into another general election campaign within the next twelve months:—

1. Mr. Pearson is becoming more and more convinced that his minority position is intolerable, and that as long as

Mr. Diefenbaker is the only alternative government available to the Canadian people, the Liberals can win a majority.

2. Mr. Diefenbaker on the other hand, is becoming more and more convinced that *his* position away from power is intolerable, and that as long as Mr. Pearson is the only alternative government available to the Canadian people, the Conservatives can win a majority.

Who will win such a contest?

I don't know, but I have a feeling that any politician who could somehow harness unto himself all of the anti-Diefenbaker and the anti-Pearson feeling which now exists in this country, could win a landslide victory.

Now I think that accomplishes my non-partisan objective of getting everybody furious with me, and I'll sit down.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Mr. David Menzel, a Director of the Club.

NOVEMBER 28,
1963

Canada's Defence

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable
Paul T. Hellyer, P.C., M.P.
MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

We were all terribly shocked by our tragic losses of last week and no words of mine need be added at this time, to the heartfelt sympathy expressed so well by so many. I did want to report to the members that on Saturday I called at the U.S. Consulate on behalf of the Club and that in the name of all our members, we have forwarded our condolences to the Consul General—The Hon. Park Armstrong. As many of you know, at almost the same time we were performing similar sad duties in memory of our late Mayor.

INTRODUCTION

It would be almost impertinent to pretend to have to introduce Paul Hellyer to this audience when he is a Toronto M.P. and a Cabinet Minister to boot. Particularly so, not only because he holds the vital Defence portfolio — but because he has been a valued member and director of the Empire Club for many years. The members of the Board and of the Club, of every political persuasion, have followed your career with great interest, Sir, and we are delighted to have this opportunity of welcoming you back to the rostrum of *your* Club.

Gentlemen—The Minister of National Defence.

MR. HELLYER:

First of all may I say how honoured I am, as a member of this Club, to have this opportunity to address you in our 60th Anniversary Year. I accepted your invitation, Mr. Chairman, with some trepidation because I am aware of the extra effort you are exerting to make this Anniversary year the most outstanding in the history of the Club. We all appreciate the energy and devotion which you apply to your duties and wish you well in your task.

Will you permit me, at the outset, to pay tribute to two great men who died recently in their country's service? Here in Toronto, Mayor Summerville, a veteran of the Royal Canadian Air Force, was stricken while characteristically taxing his strength over and beyond the call of duty. In Dallas, Texas, President Kennedy was struck down while riding in a cavalcade, midway through a heavy schedule of activities commencing with a breakfast address. Each died in the service of his country just as surely as those who fell in battle. We thank God for men of their character and calibre, who are willing to accept the risks associated with their unbelievably heavy responsibilities.

You have asked me to speak to you today on the subject of Canada's defence and, I might say, that it comes at an appropriate time as we are now in the process of preparing a long-term policy for the future. I think you will agree that this is a very complex subject. There are many controversies and differences of opinion in respect of the path we should follow. It is our job, notwithstanding the controversies or the difficulties, to consider the problems that face us in the broadest context and, having considered them, to make intelligent judgments in the best interest of the Canadian people.

We are a nation dedicated to the cause of peace. It is a profound aspiration. At the same time, we strive to preserve

our freedom which has been dearly won. Although we often speak casually of freedom, sometimes we take it for granted and become unaware of its reality. In our country we have in fact basic freedoms which must be preserved:— the right of men of different points of view to stand before great audiences like this one and express, without fear, their thoughts; the right of all of us to worship in accordance with our conscience; the right of the press to report conflicting views and to comment on them in accordance with their own beliefs; the right to choose a government by secret ballot from candidates of different political affiliations; the right to make laws for the regulation of public affairs and the right to change them; the right to expect equal treatment under the law. Each of these rights, and more, we have come to accept as part of our way of life, and yet they have not always been enjoyed and are not today in many parts of the world.

As a representative in the House of Commons for Trinity riding, I have many constituents who have lived part of their lives in countries where these freedoms do not exist. More than most of us, they know the reality of that simple word “freedom”. Many of them risked their lives in order to escape the restrictions of totalitarianism. I freely acknowledge the need for constant reform in our democratic society and for improvement in many of its facets. The method by which we choose to accomplish this, however, is by exercising our franchise with deliberation and discretion. Notwithstanding the imperfections of our system, I believe it is the best yet evolved by organized society. It is our task then, in the broad sense, to preserve our liberty and the system of our choice.

Canada, with a large area and small population, cannot by itself hope to protect its people against any likely aggression. It has long been recognized that we must cast our lot

with the people of other nations whose objectives are similar to our own. To this end we have allied ourselves with like-minded nations in a common pursuit—the preservation of peace and the maintenance of freedom.

At the end of World War II, it was hoped that the United Nations would be able to do what the League of Nations had failed to accomplish. There was a universal desire that national boundaries and integrity could be preserved with the help of this great new international organization. Subsequent events in Eastern Europe, however, proved beyond peradventure that the United Nations did not have this capability.

As a consequence, and partly as a result of Canadian initiative, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in 1949 and it has been since that time the principal guarantor of the freedom of the Western world. Its success has been proven by the fact that not one square foot of European territory has fallen to communist subversion since that time, regardless of the numerous crises that have arisen. In spite of the many problems, the NATO Alliance remains today the protector of freedom for the free world. There has been, and probably always will be, points at issue within the Alliance. Complete unanimity is really too much to expect amongst 15 nations whose interests, although often similar, are seldom identical.

One of the paramount issues at the moment is the question of strategy. It is no secret that some disagreement exists between members of the Alliance as to how best to deter war and maintain freedom. Some, remembering well the devastation of their territory during two world wars in this century, abhor the possibility of a third experience of any dimension. They prefer to deter both nuclear and non-nuclear attack by the threatened immediate use of tactical atomic weapons and to accept the risks inherent in this

strategy. Others, in view of the changed circumstances of the last few years, prefer a more flexible strategy. They suggest that two major developments of the last 10 years must be taken into account:

Firstly, the Western monopoly of nuclear weapons has been broken and the Russians now have large stockpiles of strategic and tactical nuclear devices, the latter deployed in quantity with their troops along the central front;

Secondly, the conventional strength of the Western Alliance has increased substantially during this decade while Russian non-nuclear force has declined.

The disparity in the conventional capacity between East and West, it is argued, is not nearly so great as has been the case in the past and as is still alleged by some observers. No one suggests that there is an equality, but merely that the difference is not so great as it was, and is declining. The proposal, therefore, implicit in this strategy, is that the non-nuclear force available to the Western Alliance should be increased in order to permit a wider spectrum of decision in meeting varied threats. In some quarters this proposal is viewed as an invitation to Soviet adventure.

Frankly, there is much to suggest that this difference in strategy is more apparent than real. On the side of flexible response, I do not think that its supporters believe for a moment that any sizeable invasion could or would be permitted without some form of nuclear response. On the side of the "Tripwire" proponents, it is doubtful that they really envisage the launching of World War III over what could be an accidental or localized action of minor proportions.

From an Alliance point of view, however, it is important that an agreed strategy be achieved soon because, quite

obviously, the problems of planning are very much more difficult in the interim.

You will recall the decision taken at the NATO Ministerial meeting held in Ottawa in May, that the Council undertake, with the advice of the NATO military authorities, a comprehensive review of the inter-related questions of strategy, force requirements and the resources available to meet them, in order to achieve a satisfactory balance between nuclear and conventional arms.

Although those responsible have been applying themselves diligently, this review has not been proceeding as quickly as we had hoped for. Some nations have not recognized the need for a thorough logical reappraisal to the extent suggested by others. The United States which has had in the past, and continues in the present, to supply the major elements of force available to the Alliance, feels strongly that Alliance capabilities and procedures should be subjected to the same careful review and scrutiny to which their own forces have been subjected. They are, no doubt, convinced on the basis of their own national experience, that they can expect that NATO review to reveal a number of substantial inconsistencies which can be reconciled in the interests of increased efficiency.

There is no doubt in my mind that the American straightforward approach is both logical and reasonable. The difficulty arises from the nature of the Alliance itself. Often national political and economic interests do not coincide, or seem to coincide completely, with the interests of other members of the Alliance. National positions tend to become entrenched. In an Alliance where the strength of the whole is dependent on political solidarity, however, compromises and accommodations become necessary.

The government of Canada is very much interested in the NATO review. In particular we had hoped that an initial

report would have been available before our Canadian defence review is complete. Our position is made considerably more difficult as a result of the delay. We do have some advantages, however. Due to the fact we are a relatively small nation we have a fairly broad spectrum of choice available to us. This gives us some degree of flexibility in our planning even under present circumstances.

Our present contribution to NATO forces in Europe consists of an Air Division employed in the strike and reconnaissance roles, and a Brigade Group which is part of the Northern Army Group. There are some outstanding problems in respect of these units, and I hope to submit recommendations concerning them in the very near future.

One half of our Air Division is stationed in France, where the nuclear ammunition for the strike role is not available. This is clearly not a satisfactory situation. Our Brigade Group is limited in its operations by the lack of an armoured personnel carrier. This is particularly serious when one considers the heavy armour available to the opposing force. It would not be proper to leave the Brigade in its present exposed position without providing the modern equipment which is urgently needed.

The cornerstone of Canadian defence policy has been to provide land, sea and air forces to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. At the same time, however, we have given full support to the United Nations in its peace-keeping operations.

As you will recall, in November 1956, the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East was formed to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities between Israel and Egypt. Since the inception of this force, Canada has made a major contribution of Army personnel and an air transport unit operated by the RCAF. Some of these personnel are now in Yemen in an effort to help stabilize

conditions in that country. In contrast to the type of forces required for these duties, the Canadian Army has supplied a signals unit to provide communications facilities for the United Nations Headquarters in the Congo, some of the staff officers for the Headquarters and a provost section. The RCAF too has played a significant role in the Congo operations.

In addition, there are Canadian service personnel serving with the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan, and with the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization in Palestine. Others, though not under the auspices of the United Nations, are with the Truce Team in Indo-China.

It has been suggested that, in order to strengthen the international peace-keeping ability of the United Nations, there should be a permanent peace-keeping force, and that Canada should participate by contributing its armed forces. Neither the Secretary-General, nor any major power group within the United Nations, has shown any enthusiasm for such a permanent force.

A more realistic approach to provide improvements for the immediate future was that suggested by the Prime Minister in his address to the UN General Assembly in September last. He said that there should be a compact planning team of military experts to provide the advice and assistance which the Secretary-General should have for organizing peace-keeping operations; there should be an examination by interested governments of the problems and techniques involved in such operations. This could lead to a pooling of available resources and the development, in a co-ordinated way, of trained and equipped forces to meet possible future demands for UN action.

Experience has shown that no two situations produce exactly the same requirements. It would appear then that the

most satisfactory solution is to have well-balanced, broadly-trained forces to draw from as required.

I have discussed briefly our contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to the United Nations. I have not discussed our forces assigned to the Canada-U.S. region and to North American air defence. This omission is not due to the lack of importance but to the lack of time, and I believe you already have considerable knowledge of the job these forces are doing.

In the few minutes remaining, I would like to refer to the general review which has been under way as a prelude to the formulation of a new defence policy for Canada.

We are taking this basic approach: to get maximum operational effectiveness for the money available for defence. This is no easy goal to achieve, but I am confident that significant progress can be made.

To this end, we are studying the various options available to us and evaluating the cost effectiveness of equipment programmes. These cost effectiveness studies have inspired several stories. One which I like is the analysis of the broken watch versus the one 10 seconds slow. The cost effectiveness study showed the broken watch was better since it was right twice a day, while the slow one was right only once in eight years. In think we can do better than that!

To assist us in doing our job, a series of studies have been, and are being, carried out. These completely review our activities, our procurement programmes and our policies. In all of the major studies, a concept of joint planning has been introduced. Members of each of our armed forces pool their thoughts with civilians and scientists. The mingling of individual streams of experience into a single reservoir is producing interesting results. We have encompassed a wide range, starting with an analysis of the spectrum of wars in which we could become engaged, down to the type of forces

Canada should have to provide a contribution to collective defensive and peace-keeping alliances. I expect that this composite review, placed against a backdrop of our foreign policy, the developing international situation, the changing technology of warfare, our national aspirations, and the anticipated economic resources available to defence, will provide a long-range guide for planning purposes.

Inevitably, many of the decisions which will be taken will be unpopular in some places. This cannot be avoided. If we are to make recommendations in the best interests of Canada's contribution to collective defence and with the object of obtaining good value for your money, we cannot yield to all the various pressures which will be applied. If we did, nothing of a constructive nature would be accomplished. The changes which count are usually the ones which require significant shifts in thinking and organization, and consequently meet the greatest resistance.

Often we do things unthinkingly by habit, without any reference to the rationale on which they were originally begun. If you have visited the House of Commons and watched members bowing to the Speaker, you would assume that the reason was based on a deep respect for the high office of first commoner. No doubt this is a conscious factor with some, but the origin, I am told, is far removed. In the old Westminster, the Chapel of St. Edward was directly behind the Speaker's Chair. Members, on entering the Chamber, paid homage to the Cross. The ritual has continued long after its original meaning has been almost forgotten.

Please do not get the impression that we intend to change everything for which the origin is obscure. On the other hand, I feel we are perfectly entitled to ask pertinent questions because, with the almost unbelievable change that has occurred in military technology during the last few years,

there is great concern as to whether our defence mechanism is able to adjust rapidly enough to keep up with new developments.

Every opportunity must be given to the students among the military, and the researchers and developers of military equipments, to develop the concepts associated with their special field of study. If properly organized and directed, they can prevent military stultification and lead to progressive development of the military apparatus. Run-of-the-mill work, such as polishing-up procedures, is necessary in peace time but much of it produces results which are of relatively little importance when considered in the context of overall strategy.

Our recommendations, which will result in the first White Paper on Defence since 1959, will be subject to consultation with our allies and review by government, Parliament, and finally by you, the taxpayers.

We are all working towards a common goal—a better Canada. We live in a great country with unlimited resources, the greatest of which is our people who have come from many ethnic backgrounds to make this their home and enjoy the freedom which is so much a part of our way of life. We must recognize that we cannot stand alone in a hostile world and that not only within our own boundaries must there be unity, but so too in our alliances in order that there be real strength.

The late President Kennedy has set an example of devotion to duty that we ignore at our peril. We can well profit from his now historic advice to his fellow countrymen to “ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country”.

Let us as United Canadians, *a mari usque ad mare*, think first of what is good for our country and by so doing ensure our continued strength as a nation. In other words,

let us truly say, with all its deepest meaning, "Canada, we stand on guard for thee".

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Past President Lt. Col. Bruce J. Legge.

DECEMBER 5,
1963

Canadian and American Relations

AN ADDRESS BY Honourable John Hay Whitney
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF AND PUBLISHER OF
The New York Tribune

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Distinguished Guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada and the Toronto Junior Board of Trade. Rowing, polo, golf, shooting and race horses are the more popularly known interests of our guest, who bears the name of one of the United States' most distinguished families.

Less well known in Canada, may be some of the reasons for that distinction—on his father's side—descent from the William Whitney who was Grover Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy—on his mother's side—descent from the John Hay who was Secretary to Abraham Lincoln, Secretary of State and Ambassador to Britain under President McKinley and President Teddy Roosevelt. So the blending of the Hays and the Whitneys helped to form the man who has followed this star of public service, not just as his country's Ambassador to Britain from 1957 to 1961—but in countless fields such as the U.N., welfare, education, the arts and so forth. His military and citizenship records, his countless awards and decorations are impressive and too lengthy to catalogue.

Suffice to say that the eminent Editor-in-Chief and Publisher of one of America's great newspapers—*The New York Herald Tribune*—is most warmly welcome here today—Mr. Whitney.

MR. WHITNEY:

I'm delighted to be able to be with you today. For one who served four years in London it's something of a venture in nostalgia to travel from New York to the Royal York, from the Empire State to the Empire Club. And it's a true pleasure for me, as an American, to toast the Queen in the company of Canadians—not only because she is a most gracious majesty, but because doing so seems to symbolize not only the essential union of the English-speaking world, but the special triangular relationship of our own three countries.

These past two weeks have been traumatic ones for the United States. In a sense, we've been a nation in both shock and analysis—a mass, self-administered psychoanalysis.

We're emerging from the shock. We always do, as man always does, after any climactic national tragedy. President Johnson, well qualified and well prepared, has taken firm hold, without hiatus. The government continues to function. The people are again getting back to their pleasures. The nation, its stride sadly but briefly broken, is again moving forward.

Yet a profound unease lingers on. We're not accustomed to assassination. In recent years, many Americans *have* been spouting a lot of malicious nonsense about their fellow countrymen, and the commentators have been quick to see a connection.

Thus it's being proclaimed in the press and by the politicians and from the pulpits that all Americans are guilty—that we are sinking into a morass of brutality—that

hate and violence and unreason stalk the land—that they have poisoned the nation, and made it sick, and that what happened in Dallas was a result of that sickness.

This, I would submit, is nonsense. It compounds a crime against the nation with a slander against its people.

It's true that there is hate in America, and violence, and brutality. There always have been. We're still a young nation, and young blood and hot heads go together. Gun-toting frontier days are close in memory even without television. Within the lifetimes of most of us here, a good deal of blood was spilled in the U.S. over the rights of labour. The decade of the Twenties brought Prohibition, with its gangland warfare and mass contempt for law. This same period saw the rise of the Ku-Klux-Klan, with its doctrines of intolerance and terror, with its flaming crosses and its lynch law for Negroes. In the Thirties, when Stalin preached class warfare and Hitler harangued against the Jews, both had their organized and vocal followers in America.

And let's not forget Big Bill Thompson, the Chicago Mayor who threatened bodily harm to Britain's and Canada's King if he poked what Mr. Thompson somewhat inelegantly called his snoot into Chicago.

Lately unreason has shown itself in dramatic ways, and brutal ways. Violence is the last refuge of the desperate, hate the last refuge of the defeated. Both have been loosed in years of climactic upheaval. But they have not gone unnoticed, or unopposed.

And what's important to remember is that violence has not been and is not now a *dominant* strain in our character. Nor is the political myopia that's represented today by the John Birch Society or the Fair Play for Cuba Committee or any of the other ragged tassels on either lunatic fringe.

Man is an imperfectible animal, and because he is, we can't eliminate hate—we can't eliminate brutality—we can't eliminate unreason. But we can work to reduce them. We

can try to modify them. We can try to contain them. And we are trying. We of the press, especially, are trying. Amid the frenzied breast-beating over the President's death, there has also been a lot of sober soul-searching. I don't think the breast-beating accomplishes much, but the soul-searching does. It's had a cleansing effect. It has, I think, brought home to us how bitter has been much of our political discourse, how trivial have been many—though not all—of the sources of that bitterness.

What we have most forcefully felt, during this period of reappraisal, is the need for a more responsible language of discourse on the issues that divide us—a language free of cant, free of vituperation, a language in which reasonable men can seek reasonable answers. And I think we are seeing that more responsible language used.

It was a great comfort to me, as Ambassador, that Britain and the United States had just such a language of discourse. We had our separate national interests, often divergent, sometimes conflicting. But we could discuss these differences, we could debate them, without rancor.

The same holds true of the United States and Canada. We, too, have our separate national interests, our differing world responsibilities. At times, our differences are sharp. Yet we have been able to discuss them, most of the time, as gentlemen, and above all as rational men. As your Prime Minister Pearson put it in New York last month, "It makes all the difference . . . when you can talk to each other in the friendly, frank and direct way that political leaders in our two countries now do."

You and we are the joint inheritors, in the new world, of a common old world heritage—we share pretty much the same goals, the same values. We speak a common language—and I mean that in more than the narrow, dictionary sense. Such concepts as honesty, as good faith, as fair play, have the same meaning for both of us—a meaning they unfortu-

nately don't have for the people of many another nation. We think of each other as being pretty much the same *kind* of people.

In the U.S., I recognize, we sometimes carry this "identity by absorption," as Mr. Pearson has called it, too far. We do often take Canada for granted. We do often neglect Canadian interests, or fail to make allowance for the disparity between Canadian and U.S. interests. This must be a frustrating thing for Canadians.

But we live in an unfair world, in which neglect is often the sincerest form of flattery. The Latin Americans complain that the only time we pay attention to *them* is when they have revolutions. Newspapers are often criticized for printing only the bad things that happen, not the good things, and there's a certain amount of truth in this criticism. It's the one time an airplane crashes that makes news, not the thousand times it doesn't.

It's the countries that come crashing, or threaten to come crashing, down around our ears that get first call on our attention. It's precisely because you are neighbours who are vastly important to us, and in whom we do have confidence, that we feel secure in taking you as much for granted as we do.

I might add that it's vital to us to be able to do so. We have our hands full with a world that stubbornly doesn't order itself the way a world ought to. I hope you will give us patience and understanding. Patience with our preoccupations; understanding that we are not free agents. Responsibility can be a very confining thing. We do, for worse or for better, bear the chief responsibility for free world defence. This requires that we know a little about every corner of the world, and a great deal about many.

There are, I admit, problems which greatly affect Canada, for which we have a responsibility, and to which we don't give the attention they deserve. The shipping dispute

on the Great Lakes is a prime example. And it's one on which I think American sentiment, if our people were better aware of what's going on, would be overwhelmingly with Canada. But if what makes top headlines in Toronto doesn't in Los Angeles or Washington or even New York, it's because we have to concern ourselves equally with what's happening in Tokyo and Delhi and Leopoldville.

When we do tread on Canadian toes, it's likely to be from neither malice nor indifference, but by accident. Our Washington policymakers have the interests of more than a hundred other nations to juggle, as well as yours and our own, and sometimes the jugglers fumble. This is small comfort, I know, to a nation so closely entwined, economically and culturally, with the United States. But it's here that our ease of discourse comes in, here that our mutual faith and trust bears fruit. For when this happens, your leaders and ours *can* talk without hurling imprecations or uttering threats, without ultimata, without innuendo. They can sit down, as rational man to rational man, and work out their differences. I don't mean it always works out this way. But most of the time it does, and it always can.

The special relationship our two countries have so long enjoyed—and I use the word enjoyed advisedly—is rare in the history of nations, rarer still in the history of neighbouring nations. This relationship does not depend on identity of views. It does depend on a general spirit of co-operation. It is strengthened as we work together on concrete co-operative projects—such, for example, as the St. Lawrence Seaway, one of the most massive works in the history of mankind, and one which works pretty well when the dockers do. It would, I think, be strengthened further if we worked more closely together in Latin America—where we both have a major stake.

It can survive Canadian fears about U.S. investments in Canada—but I would suggest to those few who take the more

narrowly nationalistic view that they reflect on the history of our own economic development. We, too, depended on capital from abroad to develop our resources, to generate our economic steam. As richly endowed as Canada is with its own natural resources, and above all with an educated and energetic people, it shouldn't fear foreign development capital. Whatever is built in Canada is ultimately going to be of primary benefit to Canadians, just as the things foreign money built in the United States have benefited us.

Nationalism is one element of nationhood, but it disturbs us when I see nationalism—especially in so close and friendly a neighbour as Canada—take the form of an over-sensitivity.

This over-sensitivity, when it manifests itself, can be kin to the unreason that has so disturbed us Americans in our own country, during these two weeks of analysis and reflection. But I don't think it's any more typical of the true relationship between our two countries than the lunatic fringe is typical of America.

One of the many things ambassadors and publishers have in common, I've discovered, is that they both stand, in a sense—I hope in the better of the possible senses—between the public and the truth. It's our job to get the people to the truth and the truth to the people.

If we do this well enough—and at the *Herald Tribune*, we're trying—we can make a dent in that unreason which does still persist, and which does still divide man from man and nation from nation. That, at least, is my own profoundest hope.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by W. Russell Cooper,—Chairman of The Toronto Junior Board of Trade.

DECEMBER 12,
1963

Quebec—Problems of Growth

AN ADDRESS BY Honourable Eric W. Kierans
MINISTER OF REVENUE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

If the many guests who are here today will bear with us for a brief moment, we have an item of Club business to transact:

In accordance with the special notice sent to all members on December 2nd last, this meeting is also a special meeting for the purpose of considering an amendment to the Club's constitution, to provide that in addition to being allowed to have an Honorary President, who by tradition has always been the Governor General, we might also be permitted to have an Honorary Vice-President.

Accordingly, I have the following motion before me:

"That Section (5) of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Empire Club of Canada be amended by the insertion of the words 'Honorary Vice-President', immediately *after* the words Honorary President, wherever they occur."

This amendment is proposed by Past President Dr. C. C. Goldring and seconded by Mr. Horace Harpham, both of whom are here today.

I think the members should know that your Board of Directors are *unanimously in favour* of this amendment.

Are we ready for the Question? Members voting by show of hands—all in favour?—contrary if any?

I declare the amendment carried.

MR. LANGLEY:

Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada, Eric William Kierans has had a most fascinating career, spanning in reality, several careers.

A product of Loyola and McGill, he built an enviable sales career with several firms and became Professor of Commerce at McGill. Continuing simultaneous successes in two apparently unrelated fields led him to form his own industrial firm in 1946 *and* to be appointed Director of McGill's School of Commerce in 1953. Three years of wartime service with the Victoria Rifles, marriage, and a family also helped to fill these busy years.

We all know the story from May 1960 on. As President of the Montreal and Canadian Stock Exchanges, our Guest made quite an impact on the financial community. Sometimes controversial, but always fearless and dedicated, he rose to face what must rank as his greatest challenge, in successfully entering the political arena this fall and assuming the Portfolio of Revenue in Jean Lesage's Cabinet.

For a man not yet 50, this is indeed quite a record, and we are delighted to have the opportunity of warmly welcoming—*The Honourable Eric Kierans*.

MR. KIERANS:

The Government of the Province of Quebec is determined to improve the standard of living for all its people, to reduce the level of unemployment and to increase the rate of economic growth in the province. In planning for the attainment of these goals, we are quite aware that French Canadians are individualists, that they believe in political freedom, and that they will not tolerate any interference with their rights and the principles of private property. The Government of the province neither contemplates any programme of socialization nor does it believe that a devotion to, and the retention of, the values of our political democracy inhibits in any way the attainment of the goals of fuller employment, a faster rate of growth, and a higher standard of living.

The Province is, however, entering the most difficult period in its history. During the past three years, we have spent very large sums on social overhead projects,—education, family and social welfare, health, public works, roads, etc.,—in order to make up for the lag in the provision of these elementary social needs that had developed over generations and particularly since the Second World War. As George Ferguson, editor of the *Montreal Star*, has noted, —we were under the rule of a mid-Victorian whose philosophy permitted government to play only the most meagre role in assuring growth and a minimum measure of welfare and security. The road to higher living standards required, therefore, an initial concentration by government on social welfare measures and investment in such pre-expansion activities as education and roads.

We are now faced with the challenge that we must increase the output of goods and services not only to justify the heavy social investments but also to share the burden of their costs and to provide funds for continuing public invest-

ment. Investment in social services and capital prepares the groundwork for an industrial expansion and does create additional employment and income but this increase is not permanent and, in fact, requires perpetual injections of new investment which can still only secure temporary additions to the working force.

To obtain a permanent increase in employment and output, a programme of industrialization must be carried out and particularly in the eastern and northern parts of the province which are largely undeveloped. We cannot wait for the industrialization induced by our investment in social overhead capital that economic theory normally suggests. It may follow, but when? Again, such investment may come eventually but it may not come in the undeveloped areas of the province where it is most needed. It is an over-simplification to say that if profitable opportunities existed in such regions, private enterprise would invest. There are a variety of reasons—not necessarily economic—why this may not happen:—the myopia and inertia of our investment institutions, the lack of entrepreneurial capacities in such regions, the reluctance of management to leave the more civilized, cultural and metropolitan centres to live in semi-frontier conditions, the difficulty of moving capital out of established, industrialized centres, etc.,—there is a social as well as an economic content to such barriers to investment in undeveloped areas. The solution, and the particular responsibility of the Provincial, *not Federal*, government is to take direct action to promote the industrialization of these regions in Quebec. We have taken the indirect measures of improving roads and communications and increasing manpower skills and resources by the tremendous expansion of our educational and training facilities. Our challenge is to go on from there.

If the human resources and entrepreneurial skills of

Quebec are largely concentrated in the metropolitan areas, the mineral and forest resources are not. So we do have two advantages on which to base our regional development policy, – our natural resources and the developed pre-industrialization structure of good communications, abundant power and expanded educational facilities. The region itself, from Three Rivers down the St. Lawrence, is not as well situated to serve the purely domestic markets of Metropolitan Montreal and Ontario as industries based in those areas, but it is ideally located if we broaden our concept of markets to include Europe, Africa and all of North America. Obviously, such development must be aided by a national policy that is firmly based on expanded world trade on multilateral, non-discriminatory lines for the region offers not only primary resources in abundance to the markets of the world but also year-round, cheap water transportation to those markets.

Industry and commerce operate within the framework of government activity and direction. The decisions, policies and the desires of governments have an immediate and substantial effect on the private sector. This is the result not only of the overwhelming influence of government expenditures and tax policies but also because we subscribe, in our democracy, to the primacy of political authority over economic power. In short, governments set the rules of the game, objectives and goals and, within that framework, private initiative and individual or corporate enterprise attempt to maximize their own rewards. It follows that a government which is pursuing a policy of forcing the pace of industrialization should have some idea of the kind of economic activity that it wishes to encourage in order to expand the commercial base and to obtain a respectable increase in output and employment. In the particular case of the Province of Quebec, it is well known that we believe that such expansion will come from the creation of an

integrated steel complex. The general conditions for such a development are all favourable. We have the iron ore, power in abundance, roads and railways and, if based below Three Rivers, we have year round water transportation to the markets of the world. The feasibility of a steel project is enhanced by the fact that large sums are not needed for investment in the building of supporting structures. These exist.

Why is the Province of Quebec so determined to foster a steel industry? We are convinced that it is the quicker way to secure the immediate economic growth which is a sharp necessity for the undeveloped regions of the province. Secondly, we do not believe that this growth can be attained in the foreseeable future by simply following a policy of encouraging new small firms and then waiting for their painful growth through long stages to medium-size and eventually large-scale efficiency. This was the pattern of industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but it is no longer sufficient. Today, the surest road to industrialization is the establishment of large units, branch plants and subsidiaries, in developing areas by domestic or foreign corporations. It is the large unit which gives the impetus to growth and attracts the cluster of medium and small enterprises to the new industrial site.

This brings us face to face with a current political controversy. Given the need for large units to industrialize a new region, how important is the nationality of these units? While Canadians might prefer that the needed development be financed and owned by Canadians, the problems of unemployment and lagging growth will not be solved while we are waiting for this millenium. And who suffers in the meanwhile for the adoption of a false and artificial position but the unemployed?

a) A \$50 million pulp mill may yield \$1 million in

dividends to foreign investors. But it also may add \$35 million to the gross national product of a province and of Canada; it may also employ directly in mill and woods operations 1,500 people and indirectly many hundreds more; it may pay \$10 million in wages and salaries and purchase \$15 million of raw materials, power and transportation services; it may be taxed \$3 million by federal, provincial and municipal governments and still have several million dollars left for reinvestment and further development. I find it difficult to be concerned about the meagre returns paid to the original investor, be he Canadian or American. Of all the returns paid from new investment, dividends are the least—smaller than retained earning, far less than taxes, and, of course, not a fraction of the wages, employment and processing of our raw materials that this investment brings! What are we crying about?

b) As I said earlier, business operates within the framework and rules laid down by governments. Our tariff laws turned Canada into a branch plant economy because we laid down the rule that a share of our domestic market could only be obtained by factories built within our tariff walls. A manufacturer comes to Canada to share in our market,—not to export to the 21 other countries in which he has subsidiary operations. I am thinking here of the specific case of a manufacturer who did not come to Canada because of the prevailing discrimination against foreign capital—and we have lost 200 jobs.

c) Certainly, many subsidiaries do not export or are not free to do so. But do they not suffer a handicap with their markets restricted to this country in competition with Canadian firms in the same industry who can go where they please—if they go, and there is the rub. Our complaint should be—not that subsidiaries do not export, but that we ourselves do not do more.

d) It is a strange thing that Canadians should begin to harp on the dangers of ownership abroad at precisely the time when ownership, foreign or domestic, does not matter any more. So diffused is present day public ownership of stocks and bonds that the direction and control of corporations lies in non-ownership hands,—i.e., management. Management is guided by the technical and economic norms of efficiency. Owners and investors are guided purely by the return on their investment and the former intimate relationship between ownership and enterprise has melted away in the search for better price-earnings ratios elsewhere. It is indeed silly to suggest that investors are acting in their own or their country's best interests when they are asked to place their money in 2 per cent projects rather than 5 per cent international corporations where such opportunities exist.

e) Today, when all nations are searching and planning for economic growth, governments direct the pattern of development. The political authority is pre-eminent and, in an era of government assistance, cooperation and intervention, displays the primacy of its position over economic power. It is here in joint discussions with management and labour, not with ownership, that the future directions of a province or a region take shape. It is quite literally the responsibility of governments, in our Confederation the particular responsibility of provincial governments, to stir up and rouse the populace to the most efficient and satisfying use of all their human and material resources and, in cooperation with private industry, to reach and carry out the major decisions that will ensure economic growth. It is this continuing consultation that gives government a voice in the direction of economic activity,—not a plaintive call to the reassertion of minority shareholders' rights, the disappear-

ance of which was fully documented by Berle and Means a generation ago.

If I have laboured with this problem of foreign investment, it is because our current discriminatory and despicable attitude towards those who invest in and encourage our growth is unworthy of Canadian traditions and temper and is lowering the high regard and esteem that the world has had for our country. Certainly, I would prefer to see a greater proportion of Canadian investment in equity and ownership so that the benefits of future growth would accrue to Canadians, but the solution lies in our own attitudes, — not in the unfair punishment of friends and neighbours.

We are in no position to criticize others when they apply restrictive measures against us. Despite the pronounced internationalism of our position in world politics and the renown of our Prime Minister for his contributions to peace and the United Nations, we are pursuing a maverick policy of economic nationalism in financial and trade policies. Certainly, we belong to the O.E.C.D. but when the twenty industrialized nations of the west sign a convention undertaking to abolish restrictions on the movement of capital and to treat all non-resident owned assets in the same way, there is a footnote to the agreement which states that "Canada does not adhere to the Code of Liberalization of Capital Movements." Where, then, is our bargaining power when we ask others not to discriminate against us? Certainly, we subscribe to G.A.T.T. but our trading partners take a dim view of specially devised policies to force the manufacture of auto parts, or other goods, in Canada and they do not consider these devices to be within the spirit of our trade agreements, or within the law. And if retaliation comes against our own exports of aluminum, oil, lumber, pulp and paper, — can we throw the first stone?

The relevance of these criticisms is that provincial gov-

ernments must know the general aims and direction of federal economic policy if we are to carry out effectively our own plans for development and growth. Our constitution makes the federal government supreme in the all important areas of fiscal, monetary and trade policy. It cannot be otherwise. But if the provinces are to plan at all, our programmes must be conceived and carried out within a national policy that is logical, coherent and consistent. It is the first duty of federal economic policy to maintain harmonious and trustful relations with the nations of the West so that our markets will be secured by our own good faith and scrupulous respect for the rights of others and from whom, in turn, we can demand the same. It may be that our trading partners were disturbed by the Ontario "Buy Canadian" campaign as press reports from Ottawa have recently suggested. On the other hand, I believe that our image abroad has been damaged more by the recent activities of the newborn Department of Industry than by your own campaign. We cannot pursue two commercial policies in Canada, one directed by the Department of Industry and another by a Department of Trade of Commerce, very conscious of its international trade responsibilities.

Just as business operates within the set of rules laid down by governments, so too must provincial governments be intimately concerned with the broad lines of federal economic policy. In this day of urgent efforts to plan for increased growth, it cannot be otherwise. It is for this reason that so much emphasis was laid by Premier Lesage on the need for prior consultation by Ottawa with the provinces on all matters affecting economic policy. We are not interfering for the sake of interference. We just have to know. Are we in Quebec to encourage increased aluminum and pulp and paper production in our Province if these become expendable industries as the result of increased economic nationalism in Ottawa? Or is it not our duty to present the case as

we see it, that Canadian commercial policy should firmly support and encourage world movements towards freer trade? Are we to sit idly by and permit hasty discriminatory action against foreign investment to close the capital markets of the world at precisely the time when Quebec needs large sums for its own development? Or are we not justified in maintaining that barriers to the free flow of capital will cause irreparable harm to Canada and the Provinces? We are not extreme in taking these positions. We are simply concerned with the problems of creating growth in our province.

It will be difficult to divide the fields of policy clearly between federal and provincial responsibilities. In a general way, however, I would say that the federal government is basically responsible for raising the general level of demand throughout the country by monetary and fiscal measures which would in turn induce additional investment in plant capacity. I am certain that it will cause less strain and stress between Ottawa and the provinces if direct measures to encourage industry by incentives and concessions were left to the provinces. Each province, as Premier Robarts has said, knows its own problems best and it is we who are responsible under Confederation for increasing the skills and capacities of our people and providing the social capital that will enable a province to function more effectively. We need only the resources which is what Dominion-Provincial conferences are all about!

We are not extreme in Quebec. Every time that I hear criticism of Premier Lesage's requests for a 25% - 25% - 100% apportionment of income, corporate and succession duties taxes, I think back to July 25th, 1960. On that day, another Premier demanded 50% - 50% of income and corporate taxes. His name? Premier Frost of Ontario. This year, Premier Bennett of British Columbia wanted Ottawa to vacate the fields entirely.

May I conclude on a personal note? Last Monday, I had lunch with the professors of l'Ecole Secondaire de Cote St. Luc after saying a few words to the students. The inevitable question came up. Would I stay in Quebec if it became independent? This question was first asked by Jean Marc Léger of *Le Devoir* and my answer was quite simply, "Yes." Ever since I have been surprised by the warm pleasure expressed by my French-Canadian friends and disturbed by the attitude of some of my English friends. No French speaking Canadian ever thought that this meant that I was a separatist or crypto-separatist although many English did.

For the record, let me say that I am a Canadian but not one who believes that Canada will be secured when French-speaking Canadians "become more like us". Guy Cormier in Monday's *La Presse* expressed this perfectly: — Etre nous-mêmes, c'est un ton, un style, une façon de voir les choses, une langue pour les dire, et une façon d'organiser la vie. Nous ne sommes pas faits pour la mimique et l'imitation. Par tradition et par formation!

The Province is shaping itself to be a more integral part of an outer world that it has too long ignored. Inevitably as old institutions lose power and new structures modify traditional patterns and practices, a people feel that they have lost their roots. In such a vacuum, the extremist can flourish. It is the challenge of Quebec leadership to provide continuity amid this change, a basis for faith in the new and the hope of security in the future.

We are all faced with the task and the art of our own living. The effective centre of my own life is the Province of Quebec and I would not have it otherwise.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Graham M. Gore, a Director of the Club.

DECEMBER 19, 1963

Christmas Meeting

with

*The St. Michael's Cathedral
School Choir*

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley.

MR. LANGLEY:

First of all, may I say how delighted I am that so many of you could be here with us at our traditional family Christmas Party. We are sorry indeed that Mrs. Rowe is unable to be with us today, but we are pleased and honoured that the Lieutenant Governor is continuing the old Empire Club tradition and has joined with us on this occasion.

There is one person, who by tradition, should be with us at this Head Table and who is not, at his own request. But despite his modesty, I feel I must recognize the fact that if it were not for the untiring efforts of one of our distinguished Past Presidents in finding the time to be our Secretary-Treasurer, in addition to running his own business, we would not have enjoyed the degree of success which we have so far – I refer, of course, to John Griffin.

Our committee chairmen carry a particularly heavy administrative load and their success is only possible because of the devoted assistance and support which they get from the young ladies who work for them, and hence for us. We have some of these young ladies here with us today, and I would like to recognize their contributions to the Club by

introducing them to you. (The secretaries of the committee chairmen were then presented to the audience.)

Another Empire Club tradition at these Christmas parties is to present to our Immediate Past President, a certificate commemorating his service as President of the Empire Club. At the same time we always recognize that the Club owes a great debt to the wife of the President for her forbearance and patience in the face of the demands made upon him, and it is my pleasant duty to ask Mrs. Palmer Kent to accept these flowers as a slight token of our appreciation for her support through her husband's Presidential year. (A bouquet of red roses was presented to Mrs. Kent.)

And now, Palmer, having observed the tradition of ladies before gentlemen, it is your turn. I am proud to be the instrument that asks you to accept this certificate which reads:

"The Empire Club of Canada acknowledges with grateful thanks, the services of J. Palmer Kent, Q.C., as President during the year 1962-1963"

and bears the signature of our Honorary President, the Governor General of Canada.

(Past-President Kent very graciously expressed the thanks of himself and Mrs. Kent to the meeting.)

Today we have a very special event to commemorate. From the time the Club was founded in 1903, the Governor General of Canada has been, by tradition, the Honorary President of the Club. We have never had an Honorary Vice-President. I am particularly pleased that in our Sixtieth Anniversary Year we have remedied this oversight and after observance of all the due considerations required by our constitution, I am pleased to report that His Honour, the Lieutenant Governor has graciously consented to be the Club's first Honorary Vice-President.

Sir, I have the greatest of pleasure in asking you to accept this scroll from your Club which reads:

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
to the Honourable W. Earl Rowe, P.C.
Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

On this occasion of your visit to us and in recognition of your long and distinguished public service we the President, Officers and Members of the Empire Club of Canada take great pride in presenting this certificate which attests that you have graciously accepted the office of Honorary Vice-President of this Club.

It is our hope and prayer that you have many years of health and happiness for yourself, your family and for the continued good of our Country which you have served for so many years.

Dated at Toronto this 19th day of December, 1963.

ARTHUR J. LANGLEY, *President*

JOHN WILLIAM GRIFFIN, *Secretary-Treasurer*

(His Honour very kindly accepted the scroll and expressed his pleasure in becoming the first Honorary Vice-President of the Empire Club and further, expressed to the meeting the regrets of Mrs. Rowe that she was not able to be with us today and her hope that she might be able to be with him at next year's Christmas Party.)

For many, many years, one of the Empire Club's most faithful members was the late Monsignor John Ronan who conceived and founded the St. Michael's Cathedral Choir School. One of the boys he trained who has worked up through the Choir School in the intervening years, is the same Father Barrett Armstrong who is now the Director of the School Choir. We are indebted to Father Peter Summer-

ville, Director of the School, for his kindness in making it possible for this magnificent group to sing for us today and in welcoming Father Summerville and the Choir, I would like to also express thanks to his brother, Father Stephen Summerville and their accompanist, Mr. Brian Rae, for joining with us today. Father Armstrong, the floor is yours.

(The Choir presented a delightful selection of Christmas pieces beginning with the processional *Silent Night*, and passing through a finely balanced group of carols in several of which the audience was able to participate. The choir concluded with the traditional *Adeste Fidelis*.)

May I say to Father Armstrong and his Choir that they have made this Christmas Party a truly memorable event. We congratulate them for their skill and for their marvelous presentation. As they leave, we would want them to take our warmest thanks and our sincerest wishes for their continued success.

Before we part, there is one final and to me, very exciting announcement which I am able to make publicly for the first time today. On the evening of Tuesday, February 11th, the Empire Club will mark its Sixtieth Anniversary Year with a formal Diamond Jubilee Dinner for its members, in this room. On that occasion our guest of honour and speaker will be the Right Honourable Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Prime Minister of Britain. This undoubtedly will be the outstanding event in a wonderful anniversary season, and so that John Griffin is not inundated with telephone calls, I should tell the members that they will shortly be receiving the formal announcement which will incorporate an order form for tickets for this great event.

Adjournment

The meeting adjourned following the withdrawal of the Vice-Regal party.

JANUARY 9, 1964

*Outlook for the United
States Economy and
Securities Markets
for 1964*

AN ADDRESS BY

Frederick A. Stahl

PRESIDENT

STANDARD AND POOR'S CORP.

NEW YORK

and

*The Outlook for
the Canadian
Stock Market*

AN ADDRESS BY

A. Hamilton Bolton

PRESIDENT

BOLTON, TREMBLAY & CO.

MONTREAL

CHAIRMAN

The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Frederick A. Stahl started his career in
the investment field with a member firm of the New York

Stock Exchange, in 1926, after graduation from the famous Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, as a Bachelor of Science in Economics. Soon he moved to Standard Statistics Company, the predecessor of Standard & Poor's Corporation, and has progressed through all the facets of economics, security analysis, and investment counselling, while in time advancing through the offices of Treasurer, Vice-President and Executive Vice-President until his appointment as President in 1958. Under his leadership, one of the world's foremost investment advisory and statistical research firms has prospered in a most impressive manner.

A. Hamilton Bolton on the other hand spent a somewhat longer apprenticeship before joining his present company, spending six years with Wood, Gundy in both research and sales before interrupting his business career for six years wartime service in the Canadian Army. Already possessing a B.A. from McGill and an M.B.A. from Harvard, Mr. Bolton decided to form his own firm of investment consultants on his return from the war, and in 1946, in conjunction with Maurice Tremblay, the firm of Bolton, Tremblay was born. This outstanding team has also prospered and has gained an international reputation in their field.

We are honoured that two such eminent authorities should have accepted our invitation to join together in peering into the mists of the coming year, and to start off our presentation I will call on Mr. Frederick A. Stahl to present his assessment of the U.S. picture. Mr. Stahl.

MR. STAHL:

I have been asked to outline, in a period of fifteen to twenty minutes, the prospects for the United States economy and the security markets for 1964. This is

a subject on which one could talk for hours, but I will attempt to summarize my projections within the prescribed time.

As to general business, the prospects seem quite clear. As to the securities market, the outlook is much less clear, mainly because, in addition to business trends, one must allow for such external influences as international factors, the emotionalism of investors and, particularly relative to stocks, the ever-present effort of the stock market to perform a forecasting function.

For 1964, the American economy will enjoy the best business year ever recorded by a substantial margin, as measured by the major indicators. The momentum of the sharp recovery experienced in 1963, after the relative dullness of 1962, would have carried through the first half of 1964 without the benefit of a tax cut. Now that a tax cut in the area of \$10 to \$11 billion is reasonably assured, one justifiably can forecast an extension of the recovery through the second half of the year as well.

In terms of specifics, and I regard the following projections to be highly conservative, I would look for an average Gross National Product of at least \$615 billion in 1964, as against \$584 billion in 1963. Thus, we will be breaking through the \$600 billion barrier by a resounding margin. What is equally important, the trend should continue upward quarter by quarter, so that by the fourth quarter of 1964, the GNP should be somewhat better than \$625 billion vs. the \$598 billion recorded for the fourth quarter of 1963.

Personal and Disposable incomes should record similar increases. Personal income should average \$486 billion, with the fourth quarter at \$495 billion, compared with \$463 billion for all of 1963. Disposable income should average around \$425 billion, with the fourth quarter at more than \$432 billion vs. \$402 billion average of 1963.

An important contributor to the betterment in business will be a rise in capital spending, always one of the major forces in the economic outlook. McGraw-Hill Publishing, in their preliminary forecast for 1964, have indicated that American industry will spend \$40.7 billion in 1964, or 4 per cent more than in 1963, for new plants and equipment. Our studies indicate that this figure is conservative and that final figures could work out more closely to a 6 per cent gain, with particular emphasis on a set-up in such expenditures during the second half. Passage of the tax bill early in the year, as now promised, would be an important factor in the decisions of corporations for capital spending.

Government expenditures, even allowing for some moderation in the budget to be presented shortly by President Johnson, should average in the aggregate not less than \$130 billion, including state and municipal, vs. \$125 billion for 1963, but with the fourth quarter figure reaching \$132 billion.

Private construction, while lagging behind other factors, should run moderately in excess of \$50 billion compared with \$46 billion average for 1963. Since this figure already had achieved the \$49 billion total by the fourth quarter of 1963, the overall benefit, as against present volumes, will be fairly modest.

Investment in inventory, which at times has importantly penalized the economy, should continue to gain at approximately the same pace of 1963, namely at the rate of \$5 billion. The Federal Reserve Board Industrial Production Index, a relatively inflexible measuring stick, should record an average figure of roughly 131 vs. 125 in 1963, but with the quarters not varying too greatly throughout the year. It is quite clear that unless boom proportions develop, the most favourable comparisons will be during the initial half,

since they will be made with relatively lower volumes for the first half of 1963.

Of extreme importance, as to the direct effect on the stock market, are the projections for corporate profits and dividends. I expect that corporate profits, both before and after taxes, will achieve new all-time highs by a substantial margin in 1964. The first stage of the corporate tax reduction will alone add 4 per cent to earnings. Specifically, I would look for pre-tax profits in the area of \$54 billion vs. \$51 billion in 1963 and for after-tax profits in the area of \$29.5 billion vs. \$26.7 billion for 1963, a gain of 10.5 per cent.

Perhaps of even greater importance are the projections for cash flow, namely profits plus depreciation and amortization, since this factor largely determines the availability of funds for capital spending and dividend distributions. Corporate profits after taxes, looking back over the past eight years, have not shown a basic trend, since the 1962 profits of \$24.6 billion were only slightly above the 1956 total of \$23.5 billion, followed by a final breakout to \$26.6 billion in 1963. In contrast, the cash flow figure showed a much more pronounced and more significant growth. In 1956, for example, the cash flow figures were \$41 billion and rose in easy stages to a figure of \$52.9 billion in 1962 and, then, recorded a more dramatic advance to \$57.6 billion in 1963. This reflected, in part, the liberalization of chargeoffs enacted by the Kennedy administration.

It is pertinent to note the relationship of dividend distributions to cash flow, rather than to reported earnings. In the period of the past eight years, dividends, as a percentage payout of profits after taxes, varied all the way from 51 to 70 per cent. Yet, dividends as related to cash flow at no time were below 30 per cent and no higher than 33 per cent, and averaged out to 31 per cent during this eight-year span.

Converting our 1964 projections to cash flow and dividends, I would look for an available cash flow of \$61 billion vs. \$57.6 billion in 1963 and a total of dividends in the area of \$19 billion vs. \$17.8 billion in 1963, an increase of about 7 per cent.

Other basis fundamentals having a bearing on profits are the price structure, wages and productivity. Wholesale and retail prices should continue the advance of recent years, perhaps at around $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while wages will rise on average about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, although the automobile negotiations late this year might break this pattern for future years. Since productivity is gaining at around $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, this argues strongly for maintenance of profit margins to support the projections submitted above.

Turning to the money factors and their relation to the bond market, one has to allow for the ever-present influence of the balance of payments situation, as well as the normal demand factors as related to the availability of funds. While the threat of the balance of payments seems to have lessened somewhat, this situation has by no means been corrected. There should, however, be some reduction in the balance of payments deficit for 1964, since the prospective passage of the interest equalization tax will be effective for a full 12 months' period; while, in addition, many industrial nations outside the United States are proving accommodating by increasing their prices and wages at a much more rapid rate than has held true in recent years for the United States. Specifically, such industrial nations as France, Italy and Japan, to name a few, are inflating their price and wage structures at a rate of 6 to 8 per cent. I would estimate that the adverse balance of payments could drop to about \$2.5 billion in 1964 vs. \$3.5 billion estimated for 1963. However, this relative betterment by no means argues in favor of loosening the credit strings.

As the year progresses and the demand for funds on the part of corporations, the Federal and Municipal governments, and for financing the public sector of housing and consumer durables, I would look for an increase in interest rates in the longer term maturities by at least 25 basis points and, conceivably, by 50 basis points should a boom psychology develop following passage of the tax bill. I do not anticipate the latter to eventuate unless the consuming public steps up expenditures faster than expected. It is quite likely, for example, that consumer savings will expand in 1964 to a level as high as \$33 billion, or 7.8 per cent of disposable income, which would compare with approximately \$29 billion, or 7.3 per cent, indicated for 1963. Even so, there should be at least moderate pressures for a rise in interest rates and a corresponding downward readjustment in bond prices.

The stock market provides considerably more of an enigma, because one must argue that prices have gone relatively far in forecasting the current and anticipated prosperity for 1964. However, a few yardsticks may help to clarify what would seem to be reasonable prospects for the stock market. We closed 1963 in terms of the Standard & Poor's industrial average selling at 18½ times 1963 earnings of \$4.20 a share to provide a yield of 3.1 per cent on dividends distributed. This multiple of earnings has been reached and exceeded in each year since 1957. The history of past markets, however, would argue strongly that values conspicuously in excess of this level could not be maintained for long. The public is again showing signs of entering the market after having been an apparent seller on balance during most of the advance since October, 1962. If extended into this year, this reversal of sentiment could lead not only to a broadening of demand for stocks but, possibly, to the development of speculative excesses that could not be sus-

tained. It is my conviction that the balance of forces, operating in our markets, dictates the likelihood of further upside progress for the stock market in 1964, but I would look for the pace of the advance to be much more subdued than the pronounced advance that was enjoyed during a good part of the fourth quarter of 1963.

Since earning power is the bulwark of the stock market, the advance in the fourth quarter of 1963 appears to be more soundly based than any other since the mid-fifties. In terms of Standard & Poor's 425 Industrials, I look for earnings to rise to a new peak of \$4.60 a share, as against the \$4.20 a share in 1963. Applying the current price-earnings ratio of $18\frac{1}{2}$ times earnings to the 1964 expectation, one could readily project a level of 84-85 in the S & P Industrials as a fair target for the market, as against 78 currently, without the development of any feverish speculation that coloured investment attitudes in 1961. This would be equivalent to about 840 on the Dow Jones Industrials. Many analysts feel that this is a conservative evaluation, as it does not allow for the relative scarcity that has developed in prime industrials as a result of a steady institutional absorption of the better grade issues. However, since the S & P Index covers stocks that account for approximately 85 per cent of the valuation of all listed issues, this Index is more representative than an Index that is composed solely of blue chip issues.

Projecting the market on basis of yields, one would come to a somewhat similar conclusion. Common stocks are now yielding an average of 3.1 per cent on their 1963 estimated dividends of \$2.40 a share. This figure should move up to a minimum of \$2.60 in dividends for 1964, so that the yield at around the 84-85 level of the Index would still be approximately 3.1 per cent. Since Treasury 91-day bills now provide over $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, any increase in the

short term Government rates could prove competitive to the stock market, thus providing a retarding influence on a rise in stock prices beyond the levels outlined.

Perhaps it is well to bear in mind the longer term trends, which are strongly favourable for ownership of equities. Back in 1961, it was fashionable to heap scorn on the concept of the "Golden 60s". Yet, with the passage of four years, we find that GNP has increased 22 per cent, production has risen 17 per cent and stock prices, despite intervening periods of sharp declines, have mounted by 20 per cent. The long term trend, despite occasional setbacks, is unmistakable. So is the population trend, which will be marked by a 27 per cent expansion of the family-forming age group from 1965 to 1970, which carries with it a huge potential demand for housing and consumer products of all kinds. Already production in many lines has approached or even stretched the practical optimum, which suggests that capital spending will mount in successive stages over the future.

Benefits from this expansion will vary among companies and industries and the investor who chooses with discrimination and timing in buying in 1964 should be rewarded substantially in the years ahead.

As a possible guide for stock selections in 1964, I will summarize the prospects for a few of the key industries.

The *auto* industry far and away was the major stimulant to the economy in 1963. Passenger car production reached a level of 7.6 million units and trucks and commercial vehicles close to 1.5 million units. I believe automobiles and truck demand will be well sustained, but it is difficult to forecast, at this point, a further gain in the industry's outlook which, in fact, might be anywhere from unchanged to down 5 per cent. However, the Big Three in the industry should show profits in the aggregate not much different than 1963,

with the benefit of increased replacement demand for parts and a continuing sharp rise in their international operations. There might be some slight shift in business in favour of Ford at the expense of American Motors and Studebaker, while General Motors and Chrysler should maintain their relative penetration of the auto market. Motor stocks are selling at a relatively low multiple of earnings, as compared with our Index, so that price vulnerability should not be great and these stocks probably will respond to dividend policies which, if anything, should be liberalized.

The *banking* industry seems assured of a nice gain in profits in the year ahead as against modest gains of less than 5 per cent in 1963. Banks should benefit not only from a rising volume of loans, but also from the anticipated probable rise in interest rates. New debenture financing by banks could reach \$1 billion in 1964, thus expanding their loan potential. It is well to note that quite a few of the Central City banks are still available at a price-earnings ratio of 16 to 16½ times earnings.

The *building* industry is subject to conflicting trends. Some phases of the industry, notably the cements and roofing equities, are still suffering from excess capacity. However, the well managed companies in this industry, such as Armstrong, Sherwin-Williams, and Johns-Manville, to name a few, should show a rising trend in earnings.

In the *chemical* industry, the gap between productive capacity and output is beginning to narrow. This should eliminate, if not reverse, the price erosion from which this industry suffered in recent years. As a result, we feel that an increase of 5 per cent in sales should be translated into a larger gain in profits.

The *drug* industry continues to provide one of the most favourable growth trends of any industrial category. It not only shows a return on invested capital about the highest

achieved by any industry, but sales continue to expand at a rate approximately twice the average growth in the economy. The leading companies in this industry should record earnings gains of 10 per cent or more.

The *electrical products* industries, which cover a vast area, appear destined to achieve new highs by a substantial margin. Electronic Industries Associates recently estimated that the 1963 volume was up 11 per cent from 1962. I would look for a somewhat smaller percentage increase in 1964, mainly because sales of defense industries will rise only modestly. In the commercial aspects, however, there could be some dramatic gains, notably in colour television, which could rise to a volume of 1.2 million sets in 1964 vs. 750,000 sets in 1963. The major companies benefiting from this trend should be in order—RCA, Zenith and Motorola.

The *food* industry continues to gain at a rate somewhat greater than the increase in population. Profits in the aggregate should be up about 6 to 8 per cent.

There are prospects for a somewhat more spectacular rise in earnings on the part of the various *machinery* industries, although these will vary company by company because of the wide diversity of their operations. However, companies that seem destined to enjoy sharp gains on basis of current trends would include Ingersoll-Rand, Clark Equipment, Link-Belt, Cincinnati Milling, National Acme, International Harvester and Deere.

The *oils* enjoyed a greater than normal increase in 1963 profits in the area of 10 per cent plus, which reflects a firm price structure during the initial nine months, the cold winter of 1963 and a continuing gain in profits in the international areas. Oil consumption domestically should rise about 2 to 3 per cent in 1964 and around 6 per cent in the Free World outside the United States. Assuming normal

winter weather and a relatively satisfactory price structure, this should permit a gain in profits of not less than 5 per cent. It is a significant characteristic of the larger companies that their cash generation is now in excess of their expansion needs. Thus, the liberalization of dividends that was experienced in 1963 should be extended into 1964. On any relative basis, the oils as a group seem undervalued, as many leading companies can be selected currently at only 11 to 12 times earnings, while even the top companies like Standard Oil or New Jersey and Texaco are in the area of 15 times earnings. This disparity, as compared with average ratios, seems unjustifiably wide.

Retail trade, reflecting higher consumer spending, should record new peaks in sales and earnings that will vary widely as between segments in the industry. Overall, retail sales may be up as much as 5 per cent. Unfortunately, the food and variety chains are still suffering from excessive price competition and stamp giveaways, so that only modest increases in these divisions will be possible, except for the best managed companies. The situation is more clearly defined as related to department store and mail order divisions. Leading companies in this segment of the industry, such as Sears Roebuck, Associated Dry Goods, Federated Department Stores, Macy, Gimble and May, could readily record earnings gains of 10 per cent or more. Here, again, can be found individual issues that are selling at a moderate valuation of earnings at 15 or 16 times.

The *steel* industry, at long last, seems to be working out of its difficulties. Production for 1963 at the ingot level of 109 million tons was well above the 99 million tons of the preceding year. Preliminary estimates would indicate that this figure could reach or exceed 112 million tons in 1964, with production spread out fairly evenly over the four quarters. This should permit much better cost control and

a widening of margins. Thus, while production may be up only around 3 per cent, it is not difficult to visualize a gain in profits of 10 to 20 per cent for leaders in the industry.

Perhaps a kind word should be said for the *cigarette* industry which has suffered for some years from adverse publicity, climaxing with the Surgeon General's report to be released shortly. As a non-smoker, I can be sympathetic to the attacks on the industry from a health standpoint. Yet, human nature is such that I would look for very little deviation in the consumption of cigarettes over any extended period of time. Future annual growth may be less than the historical pattern of about 3 per cent, but should continue to rise over a period. In the meanwhile, the leading stocks in the industry are thoroughly deflated, whereas, on statistics, as a consumer industry they should be entitled to sell at 15 times earnings or more. Instead, we find them priced at close to the 10 times level to yield in the area of 5 to 6 per cent. For investors with a little fortitude, the leading stocks provide exceptional values at going levels.

The *utility* industry will continue to record a steady gain in profits in keeping with consumption trends. Profits should rise 7 to 8 per cent in 1964. These stocks frequently achieve a temporary overvaluation, but patience usually corrects this factor by a growth in earnings and this area of investment should continue to be lucrative.

I trust the foregoing comments will provide some perspective as to my basic thinking as to the outlook for 1964. Permit me to say in conclusion that it has been a great privilege to have the opportunity to present this discussion to you.

MR. LANGLEY:

And now with his analysis of the Canadian scene — Mr. A. Hamilton Bolton.

MR. BOLTON:

It is a great pleasure for me to be here with you today in the company of such a distinguished economist and investment analyst as Mr. Stahl, President of Standard and Poor's Corporation, who has just finished giving you his views on the outlook for 1964 in the United States.

My task, which is now to give my own views on the outlook particularly for the Canadian stock market, falls rather neatly into place as the aftermath of what Mr. Stahl has had to tell you, because unless we are clear as to the outlook for the United States, we have no hope of being clear as to the direction of the Canadian economy and the major influences affecting the market place.

I cannot hope, however, in the fifteen minutes allotted to me to cover more than a fraction of the field, especially since I will be developing one or two themes which may well be considered controversial. There is a school of thought perhaps typified by Mr. May of the Commercial & Financial Chronicle which says that attempting to forecast the stock market is a useless exercise. In other words, any time is a good time to buy good value. Unfortunately, this begs the question since what is good value now in relation to our obviously high-priced stock market would have been very poor value in 1954, say, let alone in 1949 or 1942. Nobody yet has developed a value theory for stocks which will prevent large losses under conditions of economic contraction except, of course, if one is prepared to remain uninvested for spaces of 10 or 20 years at a time. In other words, any time is a good time to buy good value, but let us not fall into the trap of using a rubber yardstick to measure what value is.

Stocks which were available a dime a dozen 10 or 15 years ago, now cost 25 cents a dozen. But even this does

not measure the increased risk in today's stock market, because the whole economy of North America is far more mature (I hate that word . . . perhaps advanced would be better) and liable to a major economic setback than it was 10 or 15 years ago. Consequently, the vulnerability ratio of the purchase of a group of stocks such as an average Canadian portfolio would have today is probably closer to 3 or 4 to 1 compared, say, to early 1954. This statement is incontestable if one takes a hard look at the size of private (and public) debt today as compared to 10 or 15 years ago in relation to the size of the economy.

If ever there was a time, therefore, to beware of the cliché "we don't buy the market, we buy stocks", it is certainly now when by all reasonable standards that from an historical basis stock prices are high, even though we can point to periods when they have been higher.

So we start with a statement rather than a theory that stock prices are high. They are. Does that mean necessarily that they are about to fall out of bed? Not necessarily, but it does suggest to me that *some day* they will fall out of bed and that this time will probably coincide with evidence of a major recession developing perhaps on a world-wide scale, which I may say, I do not find at all in evidence today. The interlock of economies, through the channel of balance of payments, today is far greater than it was 10 years ago, but there is nothing on the horizon that I can see to do what the Marshall Plan did 15 years ago to create a Free World bootstraps operation.

Mr. Stahl gave us an excellent rundown on the forces at work which should keep the U.S. economy moving forward at least through a good part of 1964. My own view is that the U.S. will enact a major tax cut in 1964 effective either the 1st of January or the 1st of July, and that this will inevitably result in increased demand in the economy by way

of capital and consumer spending. I don't think it makes much difference whether the date is January 1st or July 1st, and in fact, I would prefer to see it, I think, effective July 1st since the forces of expansion are sufficient, I believe, to make it unnecessary to have a tax cut in early 1964, and its impact therefore, if enacted only at mid-year, would last longer.

Be that as it may, a tax cut has major implications for Canada and the Canadian stock market from three different directions. First, a U.S. tax cut will be a stimulant to Canadian industry and corporate profits through the spillover of demand into the Canadian economy which every period of good business in the States produces. Secondly, however, a tax cut in the U.S. will literally force action to be taken by the Canadian Government to do likewise if we wish to retain the competitive advantage that our recent devaluation has given to us, and which is showing up so nicely now in our external trade figures. Thirdly, a tax cut in the U.S. may well cause or force us to inaugurate a whole series of tax reforms which will once more give proper incentives to proper people to expand our output and our economy into the prosperous thing it should be. I would hope this will be the outcome of the current sitting of the Royal Commission on Taxation.

The Canadian economy in 1964 faces many of the same influences which are favourably at work in the U.S. I will enumerate a few that you no doubt are fully aware of:

- (a) Inventories. These are well under control and in fact the inventory/shipment ratio in manufacturing is at low levels historically.
- (b) Unfilled Orders. These jumped over 5 per cent during the third quarter.

- (c) New Orders. These are up 3 per cent in the third quarter.
- (d) Monetary Ease. Money supply is expanding at about a 6-7 per cent annual rate and money remains easy. Despite favourable business, the rate of increase of total loans has been moderate as compared particularly to 1962 and even 1961. I think it should be pointed out here that our long-term interest rates structure is quite high in relation to that of the U.S. (roughly 5.15 per cent vs. 4.15 per cent or a 1 per cent spread) which gives us plenty of room to manoeuvre if, as I think quite likely, U.S. long-term rates start to rise in 1964.
- (e) The Russian Wheat Deal. This will prolong monetary ease to a time later than it could otherwise have lasted.
- (f) Our Import/Export trade balance world has been improving for years now and our balance with the U.S. is also improving and this is important since this is where our biggest trade deficit is.

This is far from a comprehensive rundown of favourable factors in the Canadian picture, but I think it points to the influences of similar developments in Canada along the lines suggested by Mr. Stahl for the United States.

Nevertheless, Canada in my opinion, and consequently the Canadian stock market, faces many divergent problems, some of which have been caused by political actions, some of which are due to economic factors, and some of which are structural. The long-run future of our stock market depends on all three, but only as the political and structural factors impinge upon and produce the economic factors. Economic factors (modified by the psychological mood of the moment) – things like savings, credit, etc. – produce the level and direction of our stock market, but these economic factors

may well be created by political environment and the structure of demand and supply for stocks.

We can say that at the moment there is nothing in the economic outlook immediately ahead in Canada which calls for a major revision downwards in stock prices. In fact, if anything, the outlook might be termed as calling for higher prices, other things being equal, which they never are. This would be based on such factors as the devaluation of 1962 which is only now beginning to take hold, the Russian wheat deal with its consequent monetary ease for a longer time, the inevitable increased demand which the U.S. tax cut will create, and the inevitable later Canadian tax cut which the U.S. one will force on us but which I hope will be based on some sound sense on tax revision coming out of the currently sitting Royal Commission on Taxation, rather than just a programme of "me-too-ism".

These then are sustaining factors and areas which could presage some sort of an economic boom or hope of a boom into 1965. Against this favourable background I see some short-term factors which may call for some readjustment downward in Canadian prices both absolutely and in comparison with U.S. stock prices, but more important some very grave structural factors at work over the longer term which may call for a realignment of our price-earnings ratios downward, and consequently of our stock prices. In fact, unless something is done to remedy this structural situation which is developing, we may be close to the ultimate peak in stock prices for many years to come if we have not already passed it in Canada.

Let me first of all discuss briefly the short-term factors. These are based on the interrelationship of the Canadian with the U.S. market. Suffice to say, the United States stock market is in a somewhat dangerous short-term position. While leading averages (I would not dare mention Dow

Jones when Mr. Stahl, the President of Standard & Poor's is sitting right next to me) have been posting new highs in recent weeks, yet the balance of stocks as measured by the number of advances and declines is obviously below the peaks of early Summer 1963. This type of divergence in the past has practically always been the prelude to a sharp downward correction in stock prices over coming weeks or months regardless of how high our leading averages may hit in the meantime.

In Canada, too, since the announcement of the budget last May the balance of advances and declines has been consistently downward despite the fact that the Toronto Industrial Average is now 140 versus 137 in May 1963. Only in the last week has the market seemed to broaden out. I am afraid, from a short-term point of view, we may well be in for some sort of a shake-out. The second temporary factor does not call for a shake-out but simply a gradual alignment in stock prices in Canada and this is due to the U.S. 15 per cent equalization tax which if it becomes law should result in a decreasing demand for Canadian equities from the U.S. until a point of balance arrives where the disparity in prices compensates for the 15 per cent or some part of it. Actually, at the moment there seems to have been since last July about a 3-5 per cent realignment already taken place, again if we use leading U.S.-Canadian stock prices averages.

Given a strong economic climate in late 1964 and early 1965, and assuming that our short-term technical weaknesses in both markets are worked out, the equalization tax should simply adjust the rate of rise or fall of the Canadian market in relation to the U.S. It should not be, therefore, a serious factor in Canadian investment portfolio management by itself.

When we get to a consideration of certain structural

factors, however, I think we ought to pause and give some thought to the probable long range effects. These are two long range developments at work in Canada which I call structural changes which in my view mean eventual lower stock prices. These are first, the attempt to force repatriation of Canadian equities from abroad (chiefly U.S.) by fiscal measures, and second, the Quebec type of pension scheme. Incidentally, nobody seems to have questioned the major governmental thesis that increasing foreign ownership of equities is bad for the country. The thesis seem to have been taken on faith alone, yet how do we account for the fact that net dividend outflow in relation to Gross National Product is no higher now than in 1946 and is very appreciably lower than in the 1930's?

Let us now discuss repatriation itself. Freshman economics tells us that if you increase the supply (and this is what repatriation does) unless you also increase the demand, the price goes down. Ottawa's tax moves will increase the supply all right (and the wrong kind of supply at that, as I will show you in a moment) but it does nothing to increase the demand. The long run effect can only be that over time stock prices will move lower than they would have if Mr. Gordon's tax measures had not been put into effect.

But let us look more closely at the quality of the supply we will have to absorb. These will not be rapidly growing companies in our resources industries which are plowing back earnings into further growth. No, what we are going to get on the Canadian market is a bunch of secondary "dogs", companies which are mature and have been paying out earnings to their American parents rather than reinvesting them in further Canadian growth. Rather than suffer a 20 per cent tax on dividends they will only have to pay 10 per cent, if upwards of 25 per cent of the equity can be sold off to Canadians, and the Canadian investing public will be

saddled with some lack-lustre investment which does virtually nothing to develop the country. But this is not all; the proceeds of the investment to us poor suffering Canadians will not be reinvested in Canada but will be moved out of the country to the coffers of the U.S. or other foreign parent company. So we get increased supply which puts prices down but the wrong kind of supply, and we temporarily worsen out balance of payments.

Let us finally look at what I call the Quebec Type pension plan. This, if it is successful, may become a possible pattern for other provinces. Quebec hopes to collect several hundred millions a year out of its scheme to tax individuals' salaries and wages and fund them in a gigantic investment pool. But this pool will not enter the equity markets as such. It will be used to finance the burgeoning provincial needs in education and social capital as well as perhaps such things as the steel complex. Regardless of the merits of the scheme, from a social point of view, the inevitable effect is going to be less demand for marketable equities.

With more supply of the wrong sort and less demand of the right sort, it is in my opinion inevitable that over time these factors will have a profound effect on the comparative level of Canadian stock prices. If we add to this the probability that if the Equalization Tax becomes law in the U.S. it will remain on the books even after the end of 1965, because I for one do not believe that the U.S. can solve its balance of payments problem in anywhere near two years, let alone five. We risk the eventuality of an investment climate in Canada in which nobody will want to buy equities. Thus the whole thing becomes self-defeating.

Now I am sure that our leaders in Ottawa must by this time have seen some of the light. I only hope they will go into this more thoroughly and reason things through. In my opinion, there are two areas where constructive action can

be taken. The first is a major revision of our tax structure coupled with a sharp cut in taxes on medium to higher incomes. These are the incomes of the basic risk-takers of our country. The experience of the U.S. in 1948 and 1953 was that tax cuts become rapidly invested in increasing demand in the economy and in higher subsequent tax revenues. There may be as in 1948 a period of a year in which the public prefers to work down indebtedness, or the effects on demand may be immediate as in late 1953. Japan has also experimented successfully with the unorthodox tax cut route to stimulate the growth of the economy. It has worked marvels in that country on several occasions. What is lost temporarily in tax revenue is made up almost immediately from lower tax rates on higher income with no overall loss in the end. Great Britain tried it this time last year with a substantial tax cut on automobiles.

Secondly, we need to look seriously at fiscal measures to increase the demand for equities. This can be done effectively by a progressive step up year by year in the tax credit to individuals on equities. Currently 20 per cent, it should in my view be stepped up over four years, say, to 40 per cent, 60 per cent, 80 per cent, and 100 per cent. Its impact this way would be gradual rather than one-shot. If any compensation for this is necessary, I would without hesitation remove the 20 per cent tax credit on preferred stocks. I see no reason for this tax credit. Are we trying to encourage equity buying or are we trying to create a special privileged fixed income security market?

In conclusion, what started out to be a simple "What is the Stock Market going to do?" type of speech has ended up as an exhortation against obvious long-range dangers that current economic political and structural trends are forcing upon us here in Canada if we are not very careful.

Our own studies of money and credit trends in the U.S.

point to the probability that we are still not too far advanced in the current expanding business cycle, despite its apparent length from late 1960. Our studies of money and credit in Canada point to approximately the same situation although there has been some turndown in the rate of change of money supply in Canada and in our various Canadian liquidity measures not yet apparent in the U.S. figures. The directions of the two economies are at present basically the same and in fact, it is impossible to have the Canadian economy going one way while that of the U.S. goes another. For these reasons, therefore, I am reasonably happy about the outlook for the Canadian stock market over the balance of the current economic expansion which I should think could easily last into 1965. But I think we must keep in mind an historical fact. Except in extraordinary periods like 1929, Price/Earnings Ratios tend to decline well before the final peak in stock prices. This is because in later stages of a boom, earnings (often aided by spurious inventory profits) rise faster than prices. This happened for instance in 1936-7 and it can dupe the unwary investor into believing he is not paying too much for stock because of a falling Price/Earnings Ratio.

If there seems to be a note in this talk of some concern as to the longer-range future of Canadian equities, it is I think mostly due to the uncertainties which have been imposed upon us by various fiscal measures in Canada and the U.S. Such recent questions as, What is going to happen about the Interest Equalization Tax? Will there be a tax cut and when? What new measures or further amendments has Mr. Gordon up his sleeve? What will be the outcome of the big Pension debate?, inevitably leave the Canadian investor up in the air. Out of such indecision, however, often come remarkable investment opportunities. Thus, we should be spending our time, if evidence of a later turndown in the

economy starts accumulating, looking through the veil of today's uncertainties in order to take advantage of what may well be the outstanding investment bargains of tomorrow.

In conclusion, given proper leadership in Ottawa, in our provinces and in business, we may yet live up to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's prediction that the 20th Century would be "the century of Canada's and Canadian Development". We will not, I trust, through improvisation, faulty reasoning, and lack of foresight allow our Canada to become the economic Sparta of the current age.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President Sydney Hermant.

JANUARY 16, 1964

Looking Ahead

AN ADDRESS BY G. Arnold Hart
PRESIDENT
BANK OF MONTREAL

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Dr. G. Arnold Hart became President and Chief Executive of the Bank of Montreal in 1959 at the age of forty-six, following a brilliant banking career which began in 1931 and which saw him serve in all areas and at all levels of the bank's operations. Brief as this period was in which to achieve such prominence, it was really much shorter when you consider that within that time he had to set aside five years during which he served in the army in the Second World War, winning an MBE in the process. An outstanding example of today's youthful and dynamic banking executive, Mr. Hart has found the time to take a prominent role in a great many activities such as the Boy Scouts, the "Y", and the Canadian Red Cross, as well as lending his talents to many other business and community-oriented organizations. Under his leadership, the Bank of Montreal has made giant strides forward, in the impressive growth and the contributions to the development of Canada, which have characterized it, since its formation in 1817. We are delighted that on the occasion of the Bank's regular monthly meeting in Toronto and in the company of many of the Bank's Directors who have come from the meeting to join

us for lunch, we are able to welcome back to the Empire Club an outstanding Canadian – Arnold Hart.

MR. HART:

I was especially pleased to receive your President's kind invitation to speak to you in this your sixtieth anniversary year. This is the second time I have had the honour of addressing the Empire Club – the first was on January 16, 1958, by coincidence exactly six years ago today. It is, of course, always a pleasure for me to visit the City of Toronto, for, as you are aware from Mr. Langley's kind introductory remarks, this city is anything but unfamiliar terrain to me. This is the city of my birth, school days, and early years in the Bank, and a visit to Toronto always has for me the warm personal pleasure of a homecoming.

When I last spoke to you the world was still talking about the first successful attempt to thrust a man-made moon into the skies. Today the launching of a satellite is almost commonplace. In the past six years there has been a radical change in relations between the western countries and those of the Communist world. Within the last year alone, we have seen the reins of leadership and authority pass to new hands, not only in Canada but also in Britain, the United States and West Germany, to name but a few.

In the fields of commerce and industry, too, each year brings many changes, and in order to be in a position to adapt to these changes most businessmen find it necessary to make an assessment of the future course of the economy. At this time of year it is customary to weigh current trends in an attempt to judge prospects in the months ahead. In the past few weeks a good many analyses of this kind have been forthcoming and it is encouraging to note that there is fairly widespread agreement that the prospects for 1964 are promising. But although the near future is of most direct

and immediate interest to business, in many cases the longer-term outlook is just as important.

In recent months a number of commentators have suggested that the period of relatively slow growth that has been evident in the Canadian economy since the mid-fifties is nearing an end and that the period of dynamic growth which was so widely predicted as we entered the decade of the "sixties" is at last within sight. They point to a number of expansionary forces that seem to be gathering strength.

Capital investment outlays may well have turned the corner and be heading towards another dynamic phase. Several major projects such as power developments in British Columbia, Quebec and Newfoundland are under way or are at the advanced planning stages. Important new outlays for pipeline construction and to complete the twinning of the Welland Canal are in prospect. The heavy programme of road construction of recent years seems likely to continue. In addition, a number of Canadian industries which for several years have been burdened with over-capacity are now, as a result of recent increases in output, approaching the day when additions to existing facilities will be warranted. In other industries extensive programmes of modernization will be required in order to keep abreast of changing technology.

In the fields of housing and social capital a growing realization of existing needs points to an upsurge in the construction activity. Several of our major cities are working on plans for large-scale slum-clearance and urban-development programmes. All across Canada there are plans for the building of additional schools and hospitals. Our universities have embarked upon expansion programmes which call for new facilities costing hundreds of millions of dollars. There will also be a great deal of construction activity connected with the World Exhibition

planned for 1967, including the provision of suitable access highways and other transportation and communication links and the preparation of the site itself.

Another factor which is seen as providing the basis for a major surge for the economy is the changing age structure of our population. The rapid increase in the number of teen-agers in recent years has already had an effect on the pattern of consumer demand. In the next few years today's teen-agers will become young adults entering the labour force, earning incomes, and forming families, with all that this implies in terms of demand for housing, appliances, and everything that goes into the setting up of a household these days.

Less easy to predict but no less important in its consequences is the prospect of innovation and technological change in the years immediately ahead. Such change could not only result in many new products and lower production costs but also give rise to substantial investment outlays.

Taken together, these various factors give substantial support to the predictions of an economic upsurge now in the making. How soon such an expansion will get under way is difficult to predict, but it seems reasonable to expect a very sizeable increase in Canadian output between now and the end of the current decade.

You may be interested to know that, for purposes of our own planning, we in the Bank of Montreal expect to see a rise in real output of at least one third by 1970. Let me put this into some sort of perspective. An increase on this scale means adding to Canada's current output almost the equivalent of the present production of Ontario. Expressed another way, it is the equivalent of adding each year between now and 1970 the production of an industry the size of our pulp and paper industry. This is a tall order, but it is well within the realm of possibility.

I can just hear some of you saying "Somehow or other all of this has a familiar ring". Many of us can call to mind previous forecasts of unbounded prosperity for Canada. Perhaps the most famous is the phrase that was frequently used about the time this Club was formed, "The twentieth century belongs to Canada". Similar statements have been made by speakers many times, both before and since.

Sometimes these enthusiastic forecasts have been very far from the mark. Certainly I would not wish to go on record as implying that, because all the signs now point to another surge of activity in the second half of the current decade, prosperity will fall into our laps, even if we just sit back and do nothing. Perhaps everyone would have his own list of things that have held us back in the past and to which more attention must now be given. I cannot possibly cover all the points that I should like to mention in the few minutes at my disposal. Let me just put forward a few thoughts for your consideration.

To begin with, I think I am right in saying that in the past there has been a tendency for Canadians to assume from time to time that the possession of "vast natural resources" was in itself sufficient to ensure prosperity. In the immediate post-war years, it is true, conditions were such that prosperity was easily achieved for Canada, thanks in part to a strong world demand for our natural resources. In recent years, however, conditions have changed and it is surely by now quite clear that we cannot afford just to wait for prosperity to come to us.

A number of years of relatively slow economic growth, of high rates of unemployment and of increasing competition in world markets have forced Canadians to re-examine the assumptions which gave rise to the exuberant claims made for Canada's prospects in those heady days of the late forties and early fifties. The past few years have been a time

of questioning in this country and one of the results, I think, of this exercise in self-examination is that today more Canadians have a clearer understanding of the extent to which events in the world beyond our borders, and our reaction to these events, can have an important influence upon the degree of prosperity we enjoy here in Canada.

In this connection, the substantial increase in the value of our exports in the past three years is extremely encouraging. While part of the gain represents to some extent special sales of grain to countries which cannot as yet be considered firm long-term markets, these sales by no means account for all our improved export performance. The pegging of the Canadian dollar at a lower value in terms of other currencies has also played its part, and there is growing evidence that the efforts of Canadian businessmen to find new markets can be successful. The long-held belief that Canadian manufactured goods could not compete in world markets is at last being challenged, and more and more Canadian companies are discovering that international boundaries are not insurmountable barriers to a good product at a competitive price.

Thus while agricultural products and raw materials from our mines and forests continue to dominate the list of goods shipped to world markets, aggressive salesmanship is demonstrating that it is possible to sell an increasing variety of manufactured goods abroad. I am convinced that we have only just begun to scratch the surface of the opportunities in foreign markets for Canadian goods embodying a higher degree of Canadian labour content than is involved in our more traditional exports.

Thus implicit in the Bank of Montreal forecast is a continuing policy of aggressive salesmanship in foreign markets. Also implicit in our forecast is the assumption that Canada will continue to maintain a climate receptive to foreign

capital. This country is still in many respects a developing country. There is no doubt in my mind that policies which seek to discourage an inflow of development capital would seriously hamper our efforts to achieve the economic gains projected.

I am not suggesting that we should encourage large-scale indiscriminate borrowing abroad, but I do feel strongly that foreign capital for productive purposes should not be discouraged. As I have said on other occasions, there is no shortage of investment projects in the world today and it may well be that in a few years the competition from other countries for capital funds will cause us to wish we had been more receptive and far-seeing hosts.

At the same time I feel more could be done and should be done to encourage Canadians to maintain and increase their ownership of productive enterprises in this country. A suggestion I have made before, but one which would perhaps bear repeating, is that there should be more emphasis on the positive use of taxation to encourage such domestic investment. For instance, as you know, corporate profits are now taxed at full rates as they are earned, and then taxed again to the extent that they become dividends in the hands of individuals. While it is true that the dividend tax credit grants some relief at present, if steps were taken to reduce such double taxation, or what would be preferable, to eliminate it altogether, this, it seems to me, would be a powerful incentive for Canadians to increase their investment in their own country.

In any case, whatever the source of capital funds, a high rate of investment will be necessary if this country is to grow and develop as I have outlined.

In any optimistic forecast there is also the implication that the question of costs and efficiency of Canadian industry and their effect on our position in an increasingly com-

petitive world will continue to receive top priority. Our record in this respect in recent years is encouraging, and as a result we have been spared some of the strains now being faced in certain European countries, not to mention the severe problems of inflation being encountered by many of the developing countries. However, our recent record is no ground for complacency. The benefits to our exporters arising from the devaluation and pegging of the external value of the Canadian dollar could quickly be eroded if price changes in this country were to get seriously out of line with those in other countries.

There is another form of discipline to which we shall have to pay more attention if we wish to remain competitive in world markets, and that is fiscal responsibility. It no longer seems to be fashionable to suggest that governments should not increase the scope of their spending. Nevertheless I am convinced that the vast majority of Canadians do not need to be reminded that government benefits have to be paid for and that they have a pretty clear idea of where the money is coming from. For far too long we have been subjected to a philosophy that sees government in the role of a dispenser of ever-increasing benefits to a presumably grateful electorate, with apparent indifference to the effects on the processes of saving and investment on which the creation of wealth and increasing productivity ultimately depend. Nor does shifting the taxation structure in favour of one or another level of government make the burden any easier to bear.

There are a number of important areas where a greater amount of public funds could usefully be employed. But, in the present circumstances, when tax reductions rather than increases would seem to be more appropriate, it seems to me that proposals for enlarging the scope of government expenditure ought to receive very close scrutiny.

There are a number of other matters which will require

greater attention and positive action if we are to adapt our economy and its institutions to the demands of the "sixties". It seems clear that if we are to achieve the fullest and most efficient utilization of our resources, both human and material, we shall require outlays for research and development in Canada on a much larger scale than we have been accustomed to. A further rise in the general level of technical and technological training of Canadian workers is also an essential part of the picture.

Much has already been done to improve the efficiency of Canadian industry but much more remains to be done and I am well aware that many of the same considerations apply to banking. Our financial system has recently had a thorough investigation by the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance, whose report will be available shortly. My own views on some of the changes which would improve the banking system without, at the same time, sacrificing the standards of sound banking practice that have served so well in the past, were expressed at the Royal Commission hearings last year and I don't think I need to repeat them today. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that Canada's chartered banks are seeking more scope in order to move with the times and to make the greatest possible contribution to Canadian economic progress.

That solid economic progress is in store for Canada cannot be questioned. Only the timing and the rate of advance are uncertain. What I have tried to do today is to present one man's assessment of where we are headed during the balance of the decade – a sober appraisal of what seems to me to be clearly within our grasp.

Gentlemen, I am not a pessimist.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President Donald Jupp.

JANUARY 23, 1964

Bell is Big Business

AN ADDRESS BY **Marcel Vincent**
PRESIDENT
THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY
OF CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

In 1953, during our fiftieth season, Thomas Eadie, then President of the Bell Telephone Company of Canada, visited us and discussed the new era in the making for telephony. We are most pleased that ten years later, he has returned to join us in listening to his distinguished successor take up the story in our Sixtieth Year. Thirty-six years of service with the Bell were only broken by Marcel Vincent's four years of active service, in both oceans, with the Canadian Navy and from which he emerged with the rank of Lieutenant-Commander. Returning to the scene of his early start, when with his Masters degree in Commerce from the University of Montreal, he began his eventful career, our speaker followed his earlier successes in a wide variety of operating and staff positions, in all areas of the company, and was appointed Vice-President and General Manager of the Eastern Area in 1957. 1961 saw his promotion to Vice-President – Operations Staff, and then to Vice-President – Public Relations in 1962. This past year our guest was appointed the company's Chief Executive Officer. A busy, talented executive with broad

interests, he finds himself involved in many and responsible community and welfare areas but perhaps his chief love and greatest fascination continues to be the challenges his chosen field continues to unfold. I am privileged to welcome on your behalf the seventh President of the Bell Telephone Company of Canada – Marcel Vincent.

MR. VINCENT:

I would like to take this opportunity to tell you something about the state of the Bell Company and I will let you judge the part it plays in the state of the nation. I wish to do so because I think we have an important role in the economic and social life of the country. The way we operate as a company is of significant interest, not only to customers and investors, but also to people in business and government and to the public at large. People are more and more interested in our operations as the Company changes – as it must change – in response to new technology and innovation.

You often hear and read that the Bell Telephone is a large enterprise. But how large a Canadian enterprise has it become? Our relationship with Bell System is often misunderstood. Where is the link between our Company and the Bell System? Many have a wrong conception of the role of regulation in our business. How are we regulated? Allow me to talk a bit about these facets of our corporate make-up, and perhaps some others, time permitting.

We *are* a large corporation. In terms of net assets, the Bell Company, with about two billion dollars, I believe, ranks fourth in Canada, behind Canadian National Railways, Ontario Hydro and Canadian Pacific Railway. In the past ten years, the total number of telephones served by us has doubled to more than four million. There is only one reasonable explanation for this – simply, the enormous

demand brought about by the exceptional pace of technological development. This demand is becoming more pronounced all the time.

Another indication of our size is that, in recent years, our requirement for new capital has been outstripping that of all other Canadian enterprises. To finance our construction programme there have been twelve share issues and eighteen bond issues since the end of the war. In one year alone – the year before last – we raised one hundred and sixty-one million dollars, all of it in Canada. Our 1963 capital expenditures reached a new high of more than two hundred and thirty-four million dollars. Of this amount, we spent 60 per cent for growth and 40 per cent for replacements and modernization.

Our ability to meet the service requirements of our customers for all types of services in the years ahead depends on our ability to prepare today for tomorrow's needs and to adjust rapidly to changing conditions. This requires and will continue to necessitate, large programmes of capital spending. If growth continues at the present pace and general business conditions remain favourable, we anticipate that we will double again in the next ten years and that we will require about 1.5 billion of new capital. We probably will remain the largest user of new capital in this country, with the exception, of course, of the governments.

Operating in Ontario and Quebec and in the North-west Territories and Labrador, we provide about two-thirds of the country's telephone service. By the end of 1964 we will have a relatively small number of telephones working on the old manual type basis. Our programme to replace manual telephone service with automatic dial service has been costing the Company around twenty million dollars a year. The public expects us to complete this programme without undue delay, and we must do so. Similarly, our customers –

more especially those adjacent to large metropolitan areas — want the kind of service that allows them to have local calling arrangements over ever wider areas. These projects have called for, and will continue to call for, considerable expenditures. For example, the current project to extend the local calling area in Toronto alone will cost twelve million dollars.

In the years ahead, an increasingly important segment of our modernization expenditures will be needed to replace much of our existing switching equipment. The coming thing is electronic switching. It has some remarkable possibilities. Its vast built-in memory will be capable of storing lists of frequently-called numbers for every customer. To call such a number, it will be necessary only to dial a two-digit code. It will be possible for the electronic control to keep trying a busy number for as long as it takes to get through. When necessary, a telephone user will be able to instruct the electronic system to reroute calls from one location to another — this is just to give you an idea of the kind of services we can look forward to in the not distant future.

The first large-scale electronic switching system in Canada will be installed in Montreal in time for the 1967 World's Fair. You may be interested to know that seventy-five per cent of the equipment used in the Montreal installation will be manufactured in Canada. A second electronic switching system will be installed in Toronto in 1968, to be followed by units in other large centres. Beyond the first few installations, the equipment will all be made in Canada.

We are convinced that the demand for a diversification of services will continue and intensify. Therefore our aim must be to provide *complete* communications service — transmitting over the regular telephone network virtually every kind of information that can be translated into suit-

able electrical signals. At the present time, the Bell Company has more than seven hundred items of equipment, or actual services, to offer. It is possible now to transmit handwritten messages, charts and sketches, printed texts and data between machines. The volume of machine-originated and processed information being used to manage business in Canada is surging upwards. Each new technique in turn stimulates further developments, and we must be prepared to handle many new kinds of information as well as a growing volume. Our failure to make the fullest practical use of the telephone network to fulfil this need would be a waste of capital.

It is true that we are a large and fast growing enterprise. But I would stress the point that, in everything we do, we have but one product – Service. We are judged in the first instance on how well we provide it. Our customers are concerned primarily with the often routine, but nevertheless vital, aspects of their communications service. And so are we.

I said the Bell is a Canadian enterprise. Quite a large number of people still seem to think we are a member of the Bell System of the United States and must therefore be American-dominated. This is not so. In no sense are we a subsidiary of the Bell System. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, holding Company for the Bell System, owns less than three per cent of our shares – our employees own more than twice as much. We have about 193,000 shareholders, 97 per cent of them living in Canada. We have more Canadian shareholders than any other Company. Taken together, these shareholders own 93 per cent of the Company's Stock.

For the most part we are owned by individual Canadian men and women. They hold about two-thirds of our Stock. Not one single institution – Canadian or otherwise – has as

much as four per cent holding in our Company; I might add that non-Canadian investors, including those in the United Kingdom and in the United States, together represent less than three per cent of our shareholders, and they hold only about seven per cent of our shares. The Bell Company's officers and directors together hold less than one-tenth of one per cent of our total number of shares.

Associated with this myth about American control is the false notion that we tend to place almost total reliance on Bell System research and methods. It is true that we have a Service Agreement and a close working relationship with the Bell System. It shows up in a lot of the things we do, and often in our methods of conducting business. It is important that this should be so. In the first place, it is necessary today to plan communications on at least a continental scale, and this Company, to a large extent, acts as a bridge between the American communications network and the non-Bell networks in Canada. It is also true that our relationship with the Bell System, which includes Bell Laboratories, brings us the advantages of research and development that we would find extremely difficult, if not impossible, to duplicate at this time. But our interest is in no way confined to American research and techniques. We are keenly interested in communications developments in such places as Sweden, Britain, France, Germany, and many other countries. Our people travel in many of these countries exchanging knowledge and information.

More to the point, though, in the communications industry in Canada, we are attaching a new importance to home-based research. Increasingly we are turning to the Northern Electric Company's research and development centre at Ottawa for answers to our problems. Scientists there are concentrating on developing communications equipment suitable for Canadian conditions, and they're

doing an outstanding job. They are also making advances in the realm of basic research, which already are proving valuable to the industry. Communications research and development scientists here in Canada are rapidly gaining strength and status. We have a lot to look forward to from them.

At this point I would like to add my few cents' worth on the importance of Government and Business having a clear conception of goals being set in various fields of activity.

In most businesses today, Government is considered to be a fifty per cent partner – especially when it comes to profits. It would seem obvious, therefore, that industrial firms and utilities have a responsibility to ensure that their ability to produce goods and services profitably is not impaired by either their own ignorance of Government objectives, or by Government's misunderstanding of business objectives. Surely it is important that business in general should strive to gain a clear conception of what Government is doing, and why. And it seems equally important that business firms should communicate to Government what they themselves are doing, and why. We cannot take it for granted that miraculous devices for the transmission of knowledge will ensure that *the actual process* of communicating is successful. In fact, frantic attempts, under time and pressure, to pelt out bits and pieces of knowledge – and the wholesale absorption of incomplete knowledge – far from promoting understanding and cooperation, may easily result in a breakdown of existing mutualities.

Providing essential services as Bell does, we are regulated by Government. This particular relationship deserves, perhaps, a bit of explanation. It is not merely a formality, this regulation. Nor is it a branch of Company Management with responsibilities for our operations. But our regulators

— The Board of Transport Commissioners for Canada — share with Company Management a responsibility to ensure that all rates for service are just and reasonable, and that communications services are provided justly and without discrimination. The point is often made that one of the main reasons for regulation is that competition is inhibited in the territories served by utilities. If regulation is a form of substitute for competition, it would seem to follow that the earnings allowed a regulated business, such as Bell Telephone, should be similar to those achieved under similar conditions by non-regulated business.

Obviously, to provide a high standard of service, our Company must have the ability, not only to meet, but to *anticipate* the public need. This involves necessarily large amounts of capital, as I mentioned earlier. The investment of capital these days gets close scrutiny. The investor is no amateur. He has access to analysis and he is largely influenced by carefully studied prospects for the future. Inasmuch as the Bell Company is concerned with the public interest, Company Management and the regulators have a clear-cut responsibility to see that Bell's earning strength is sufficient to warrant the confidence of investors who are becoming more and more knowledgeable and selective.

Our business does have competitive aspects, and they are increasing all the time. We face competition when we diversify services — which we must do to effectively meet the needs of our customers and remain financially fit. More and more we are having to compete for employees, first-rate management people and new capital. To succeed we must have the assistance of regulation that is forward-looking. But we must at the same time be deeply conscious of the reality that our own present-day actions, attitudes and plans are what will really determine the future vitality of our Company.

Now I am coming to the last and most important point. We realize more and more that, equally as essential as a wide diversification of goods and services, are men and women of commensurate breadth and outlook. The coming years are going to be more demanding and challenging than at any previous time in our history. So we must continue to recruit able people. In recent years we have placed emphasis on acquiring people of high academic achievement. It seems to me that this policy is a good one. We have carried this forward in the form of additional academic work to those who have been with us for some time. In addition to the continuing use of management training seminars, we recently joined with Queen's University in opening a post graduate programme for engineers in the field of communications.

In these ways we expect to man our management group with enough people of high intellectual ability, people who can face increasing technological and management complexities. This tends to accentuate the development of individuality. At the same time we are going to require ever improving team effort. So these same individuals must have the skills involved in providing cooperative effort throughout the organization. The important thing seems to be for the individual to concentrate on increasing his invisible assets, the capacity to learn and the capacity to cooperate. To the extent that we get understanding and acceptance of these views, to that same extent the business will be in good hands. And, gentlemen, I remain optimistic about the future of our Company.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President Arthur Inwood.

JANUARY 30, 1964

The Canadian Department of Industry

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable C. M. Drury
MINISTER OF INDUSTRY

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

We welcome today a senior minister of the Federal Cabinet who is as remarkable for his varied accomplishments as he is for the young age at which he has achieved each of his many successes. A graduate of the Royal Military College, of McGill University and of the University of Paris – Bud Drury has an extensive background that has included the Presidency of Avis Transport and the Vice-Presidency of Foundation Company of Canada. His wartime service as a gunner was brilliant, and he emerged as one of the youngest Brigadiers in our history. As Chief of the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration in Poland from 1945 to 1947, and with his two years' service in the Economic Division of the Department of External Affairs, followed by his appointment as Deputy Minister of National Defence for the next six years – he gained unparalleled experience in key senior appointments, before returning to the business community. We all know of his recent successful entry into politics and his

immediate appointment to Cabinet rank as Minister of Defence Production, followed by his recent assignment to create the new and important portfolio of Industry. Quite a record for a man still only fifty-one years of age, and we take great pleasure in welcoming to the Empire Club of Canada — Brigadier the Honourable Charles M. Drury, Minister of Industry.

MR. DRURY:

The Canadian economy has traditionally been based upon agriculture and our natural resources. However, our manufacturing industry has steadily grown and today employs almost twice as many people as do the primary industries. The total value of goods produced by our manufacturers is approximately two and a half times greater than the value of the produce of our farms, mines, fisheries and forests combined.

At the same time Canada has evolved a political-economic system wherein the public and private sectors interact and the decisions made in one sphere have a substantial impact on the other. As the importance of secondary industry has grown over the years, it has therefore become increasingly apparent that the viewpoint of the industrial sector of Canada's economy should be represented when government policy is being decided. With my appointment as Minister of Industry and the establishment of the Department of Industry last July, it became my job to represent that viewpoint, to be the spokesman in the government for Canada's secondary manufacturing.

Furthermore, the establishment of the Department of Industry provides effective administrative machinery through which government and industry can work together towards the solution of mutual problems. The present government believes that economic growth in Canada is

based on the success of private enterprise. When private enterprise is alert, ingenious, aggressive and forceful, then we all benefit. Government, however, can do a great deal in terms of establishing the right kind of environment to encourage increased growth and providing specific measures for assistance when they are required.

For other elements of the economy, the need for ensuring coordination between the public and private sectors has long been recognized and there is no question of the vital contribution that the federal government has made in encouraging and assisting agriculture, mining and fisheries.

Naturally, the needs for the viewpoint of manufacturing industry to be represented in government councils, for effective communication between the federal government and manufacturers, for government assistance in dealing with certain problems, are not developments which have appeared overnight. Nor has the government ignored its responsibilities until now. Many departments and agencies have undertaken, over the years, various functions in regard to secondary industry as the need for such programmes arose. Certain of the activities of the Departments of Defence Production and Trade and Commerce have now been transferred to the Department of Industry; but the broader concern of these and other departments with matters relating to manufacturing is not going to disappear. There is now a single department which can examine and reassess the many policies and activities of the government in the context of a coordinated, overall programme, recommending changes to achieve a better balance and greater effectiveness.

The primary objective of the Department of Trade and Commerce is to promote the export of Canadian products, regardless of whether those products are wheat or wood pulp, automobiles or radios. The objective of the Depart-

ment of Industry is to encourage the growth of Canada's manufacturing industry. Inasmuch as one effective way to achieve this is through the efficient production of goods which are attractively and functionally well designed, which can compete successfully in export markets, it would be difficult to think of two more compatible aims.

The two most important economic problems facing Canada today are firstly, the high and persistent rates of unemployment and secondly, the adverse balance of payments situation. These are extremely complex and difficult matters for which there are no simple solutions. A number of measures are being undertaken by the government in a broad programme designed to deal with the various aspects of these problems. The Department of Industry, charged with responsibility for promoting the growth and efficiency of Canadian manufacturing industry, has an important part to play in regard to the success of this programme, as have the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Labour and others. We must look to significant growth in manufacturing as a major source of new employment in the years to come. This growth can be achieved only through the expansion of existing markets and the development of new ones wherever possible. In particular, it is through the vigorous expansion of export markets that we can achieve not only increased employment but also the alleviation of the balance of payments problem.

The expansion of our markets can only be accomplished by being able to produce and sell efficiently and effectively in the increasingly competitive economic environment with which we are faced throughout the world. In the past decade, manufacturing industries in Europe, in Japan, and in many other parts of the world have been rebuilt along the most modern and efficient lines. A series of trade and tariff negotiations, in which all of the leading nations of the

free world have participated, have greatly reduced the barriers to trade.

The process of removing barriers to world trade is still continuing. Canada has agreed to participate in a further international trade and tariff conference to be convened under the auspices of GATT this year. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, who attended the GATT ministerial meeting which agreed to this round of negotiations, made it clear that Canada would play a full and active part at the conference.

The continued international emphasis on increased trade underlines the need for manufacturers to be continually improving their ability to compete effectively. This means improving existing production methods and discovering new, more efficient manufacturing and distribution techniques and processes which will lower manufacturing and distribution costs. It means developing new and better products with high standards of quality and design.

A great many Canadian manufacturers have adapted to this rapidly changing environment with success. A number of industries have expanded appreciably and have prospered and created many new jobs. In most instances these "growth industries" have made full use of modern research and development discoveries. On the other hand, some of our traditional consumer industries have experienced serious difficulties in adjusting to the new competitive situation.

These so-called traditional industries form an important part of our economy. They provide jobs for many thousands of Canadians and are the main source of support for numerous communities. Furthermore, they are important consumers for the products of other Canadian industries. It is, therefore, vitally important that they should be sound and healthy members of our industrial structure. In this regard, one of their strengths lies in the wealth of experience which

they have accumulated over many years of practical business experience. They must constantly keep in mind, however, that to be effective this experience must be combined with the best technology that is available for their needs. If they do not keep abreast of modern business methods, their experience will be of little avail.

We have already been able to play a significant role in the formulation and introduction of new measures to foster greater production and trade in motor vehicles. These measures, introduced on November first of last year, were implemented after detailed and careful consultation with motor vehicle producers and auto parts makers. While this programme was designed to meet the particular circumstances of the automobile industry and is not appropriate for general application, I believe that the process of close prior consultation with the industry concerned is vital. It is our intention to follow this pattern of consultation in future relations of the department with various governments and industries.

Although we will be developing new programmes to assist industry, we are not neglecting those activities which in the past have demonstrated their usefulness. The Domestic Commerce Branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce has been transferred to the Department of Industry. This group has been engaged in a wide number of industrial development activities, such as detailed industry studies, import studies, and technical missions to study industrial methods in other countries. It has also provided information and assistance in the field of government regulations as they affect business.

Two weeks ago, as a specific example, in addressing the Canadian Furniture Mart here in Toronto, I spoke of two missions of industry representatives who travelled to Europe and the United States under government sponsorship to

compare furniture making and marketing processes in the countries visited with those in Canada. The members of these missions have prepared extensive reports on their findings, which are being printed by my department and will be made available in the very near future to all those who are interested. These reports contain many valuable observations and recommendations and have stimulated a great deal of interest in the Canadian furniture industry.

We are expanding these activities to assist industry to increase production of existing products and to seek out new product opportunities, to achieve a greater degree of processing of Canadian raw materials, and to help industry in adopting the most effective means of manufacturing and marketing their products.

The Industrial Design Branch is now also a part of the Department of Industry and will continue to expand its programme of helping industry to take advantage of better design as a means to improving its products. With design becoming increasingly important as a marketing factor, it is of great importance that manufacturers be encouraged and assisted as much as possible in this field.

In March the first design centre to be jointly sponsored by the National Design Council and the Department of Industry will be opened here in Toronto in the Colonnade Building on Bloor Street. The centre will be a permanent place of exhibition where Canadian products of good design will be displayed for the benefit of domestic and foreign buyers and the general public. The centre will focus attention on the good design work now being produced by industry and Canadian designers. I hope that it will also encourage greater and more widespread efforts towards innovation and creation of a new image for many Canadian products.

I have been speaking of the Department of Industry's activities in connection with its responsibilities to promote

the establishment and growth of manufacturing in Canada and generally of the contribution which this growth will make towards creating employment. However, there are a number of regions in this country where the level of unemployment has been substantially higher than the national average for the past several years. The department has therefore established an Area Development Agency which is taking a broad regional approach to the economic development of such areas.

These regional problems arise from a variety of factors. In some instances, communities are dependent upon a single industry. When technological change makes this industry redundant to the economy or when there is a prolonged period of low demand for the products of this industry, a large group of workers with skills no longer required are left without employment. In other cases, migration from farms to urban centres leaves communities without sufficient population in the surrounding district to support the service enterprises which have grown up over the years.

The situation in many of these regions is both urgent and grave. Accordingly, measures have been introduced to encourage new enterprises to establish in these areas. These measures include such important tax concessions as exemption from income taxes during their first three years of operation and accelerated capital cost allowances. To date, thirty-five such areas have been designated.

The Area Development Agency will work closely with provincial authorities and with industrial and commercial interests to develop further methods of stimulating employment and encouraging greater growth of these areas. This Agency will also be working closely with the provincial authorities to examine ways in which the federal government might assist long term industrialization programmes

for undeveloped regions and areas in Canada of lagging economic development.

The Department of Industry is a very new organization. It has been given the important tasks of encouraging the growth and development of Canadian manufacturing industry, improving the effectiveness of the federal government's participation in industrial research and fostering the economic development of designated areas. Some programmes to achieve these objectives have already been undertaken and others are being developed. These programmes are being developed in close association with industry and other organizations concerned and will be designed to make a contribution in those areas where the federal government is uniquely able to do so, avoiding duplication of activities already being undertaken elsewhere.

Canadian manufacturing industry has successfully met the challenges of the past. I am confident that through determined effort and the cooperation of both industry and government, the new and difficult problems we now face will be overcome.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President Dr. Z. S. Phimister.

FEBRUARY 6,
1964

Separatism- A Dangerous Philosophy

AN ADDRESS BY Peter Nesbitt Thomson
CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT
POWER CORPORATION OF CANADA
LIMITED

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Our guest of honour is described by his friends as a dedicated perfectionist, with a consuming interest in – not only his own business affairs – but the business and problems of Canada and its welfare. Married with two children, our guest is sometimes a golfer and curler, and an avid yachtsman – even belonging to our own R.C.Y.C. He is a Governor of Montreal General Hospital and a Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, to name but two of his community interests. With a varied and thorough preparation for his present responsibilities, which was rooted in the investment business, our speaker assumed the direction of Power Corporation in 1957. Now 37, and with an impressive record behind him, our guest directs one of the largest investment and development trusts in the Canadian economy. A corporate chief with an abiding faith in Canada, he believes in the principle of Canada for Cana-

dians – enhanced by sound business judgments and enlightened governmental policies that will help, not hinder, our growth. With this deep concern for his country, he gives us now a businessman's point of view on a problem vital to us all – "Separatism". Gentlemen, the Chairman and President of Power Corporation of Canada – Peter Nesbitt Thomson.

MR. THOMSON:

Much has been written, and much has been said, of recent events in Quebec and whether, because of what is happening there, Canada is on the threshold of great and nation-shaking transitions.

As an English-speaking Canadian I am greatly concerned over this situation. As an English-speaking Quebecer identified with business I cannot help wondering if emotions have not superseded hard facts; nor help wondering how the rest of the world may be looking at Canada today in the light of the turbulence which is now sweeping the province, and of the anxiety which this is bringing to the rest of the country.

As an English-speaking Quebecer I wonder, also, how much of this turbulent change of spirit by Canada is really attributable to the English-Canadian businessman, on whom it has become fashionable to lay the blame for today's conditions. I hope to show you that there are other factors, equally blameworthy, that do not stem from English-speaking Canada at all.

No one who has ever lived in Montreal can say that Quebec is like the rest of Canada – it isn't. It is this very difference which makes Montreal one of the greatest cities in the world, and makes Quebec the most fascinating province in this country of ours. I, for one, cannot conceive of a Canada without Quebec, nor can I conceive of a Quebec

without a Canada. For it is this very intermingling of races which has created the aura that surrounds Quebec.

That there is bigotry in Quebec between the two main races and religions cannot be denied, no more than we can deny that bigotry exists across the whole of this country. It has been intensified, and divided the races by identifying the English as Protestant and the French as Catholic. There is exaggeration here, but unfortunately it is too close to the truth to be completely dismissed. That this is an offshoot of the divergences too often voiced by religious leaders in the past is unfortunately true, as it is throughout the world.

But I want to speak to you today about something which is unique to Quebec and which, in its own way, is much more insidious than the other and more obvious than the differences that I have mentioned. This is the pre-disposition of some French-Canadians to blame English-speaking Canadians and, in particular, English-Canadian business, for the emergence of the separatist movement in Quebec. I want to suggest that, by their attitudes, some English-Canadians tacitly admit this is true, with the result that we now see more compatriots than we care to mention running about like scared rabbits, patting the French-Canadian on the back and telling him of the "bad deal" he has had.

It is not a situation easy to appraise dispassionately, but two points stand out above all others: What have we, as English-Canadians, done or not done – OR – What have they, as French-Canadians, done or not done? Has there been something lacking in our relationship with French-Canadians in Quebec over the years – or, has there been something lacking in the French-Canadian attitude which has resulted in the economic subservience he is now bemoaning?

The separatist movement in Quebec has been likened to the movements for freedom in Africa which has seen the

emergence of many new nations. Of the control of industry in Quebec we had a prominent French-Canadian member of parliament, speaking in Toronto, assaying the new attitude in Quebec, saying that it makes no difference to Quebecers whether their industry is controlled by American or by English-speaking Canadians – “They both speak English: it is all the same to us,” he said.

In this kind of language and reasoning lies the crux of much of the problem of Quebec today. There is a growing sentiment among the separatists and their supporters that anything that is wrong with Quebec must be the fault of the English, and it is this very attitude that makes the separatist philosophy dangerous.

I suggest to you that the separatists are wrong: that the fault lies as much in themselves as in anything the English have done or have not done with respect to French-Canadians. I feel that they are developing a philosophy based upon a fallacy.

We find in separatism an echo from Quebec’s past, but without the honesty that characterized the soul-searching of French settlers in the early days. When Quebec was New France, the call to the wilderness and the greater opportunities for profit in fur-trading militated against the development of industry and agriculture, much to the concern of the French Crown.

Whereas the French *coureurs-de-bois* opened up the vast territories that make up much of North America today by establishing fur-trading posts wherever lake or river traffic would permit it, industry and agriculture were largely ignored. It was a more adventurous life than the life of the Englishman in the New England states for whom the fur trade was but incidental. He relied, instead, on developing agriculture and industry, and an export trade in tobacco and fish, with the result that eventually the English colonies

outgrew New France in population, wealth, trade and command of the sea.

We have the words of Raudot, the Intendant of New France, in 1706, in support of this view. Said he: "The English do not leave their homes as most of our people do. They till their ground, establish factories, open mines, build ships, and have never yet looked upon the fur trade as anything but a subordinate part of their commerce."

It was a different way of life, and in many respects a way of life that did not change radically until recent years. The classical traditions of French-Canadian colleges prevented its students from playing a full part in the scientific, engineering and business development of their province.

This is something the separatist overlooks when he comes to apportion blame. To realize how much blame attaches to the educational system, with which the English had nothing to do, he need only look at the intense efforts now being made to reform the educational system, to fit it better to the times in which we live. The government's determination to reform the system, made manifest only a while ago in the much discussed Bill 60, is a tacit admission that the educational system has been the most inhibiting factor in French-Canadian life. It left him unfit for commerce or industry, and by that token left the greater part of commerce and industry to the English with their vastly different educational background.

This leads me to think the time has come for an honest appraisal. How much of the present problem is due to the French-Canadian himself? Certainly more than he cares to admit. French-Canadians who liken the attitude of Quebec to that of the new nations seeking freedom are using spurious analogies to lessen the burden of their own responsibility. They belong to the colonial school of thought. They believe that all Quebec has to do to regain its feet is to free itself

from the “colonialism” of the English regime. However honestly held, this view is fallacious for French-Canadian colonialism is a state of mind, and not a reality.

One would think, from the expression of separatist sentiment, that French-Canadians were in a minority role in Quebec, whereas the reverse is true. No minority role has been more apparent than that of the English-Canadian in Quebec politics.

How many persons of English origin are in the Quebec government? How many Quebec premiers has the English-speaking minority produced? While Canada, through Quebec, has produced two brilliant French-Canadian Prime Ministers and many others of great competence at Cabinet level on the national scene, the role of the English-Canadian in the affairs of Quebec has been minimal – and not necessarily by accident.

Economic opportunities have always been present in Quebec for both races. That the French-Canadian prepared himself for politics, the professions and the priesthood in preference to commerce and industry was of his own choosing. If he entered the business arena later than his English-speaking contemporaries, no one is to blame but those who perpetuated the parochial educational system that failed to prepare him for a role in business. The French-Canadian is a product of his own system – of a system which he himself has controlled from the beginning, and in which the English-speaking Quebecer has had little, if any, voice whatever.

To say, as some separatists argue, that business opportunity was denied to him is to close the eyes to the facts. To base the separatist argument wholly on economic difficulties is to insult the myriad French-Canadians who have contributed to the grandeur of this country and of their province in the judiciary, in politics, in the legal profession, in the arts and in medicine. It discredits the many French-

Canadians who, despite a late start as compared with the English, still managed to build industries and business complexes that compare favourably in size to any in the whole country. Since when is accomplishment based on the language one speaks?

Yet we see today the spectacle of English businessmen surreptitiously taking lessons in French to hide their ignorance of the language, to appease the French-Canadian hunger for equality of language. If more French-Canadians are bi-lingual than are English-Canadians it is to their credit, as it is to any nationality that encourages the growth of knowledge.

But to speak French to satisfy the nationalistic feelings of some French-Canadians is merely to cover up the hard, cold facts of life. Even if all the English-Canadians in Canada learned to speak French, what of the 180,000,000 English-speaking Americans who are our closest neighbours and with whom we have to do business? In this respect the French-Canadian separatist is far from realistic – if he wants to do business outside Quebec – and, mind you, he does – he must learn to speak English, and since our biggest market is to the south of us, and probably always will be, realism will not take a back seat to nationalism.

It is the very opportunity and, if you will, insistence, to do as he chooses that, ironically, has harmed French-Canadian aspirations. Guarantees of the right to their own language in all French-Canadian institutions of learning, government and law have, in fact, contributed to the very economic dependency they are now bemoaning, for it is through their language that they separated themselves from the main stream of progress and development in North America. I am not arguing that it should have been otherwise. I merely point out that exclusive development in French has been a greater inhibiting factor than any other.

There is a great fear among French-Canadians that their cultural identity will some day be submerged by the English. But culture is inherent in each race, and one's own culture may always be retained. It is not likely that we shall ever be united in a single culture but we can, and must, unite through trade. The different cultures of Europe separated its peoples for more than two thousand years, yet trade has brought them together for the first time in history with the formation of the Common Market – to their mutual advantage. The cultures remain – but who would have suspected not so long ago that the German, the Frenchman, the Italian, would proudly say, "I am a European", as is the case today?

Perhaps that is why the attitude of the French-Canadian today is incomprehensible to many European businessmen. They see a revival here of the nationalism that kept them at one another's throats for so many years. While they can understand nationalistic feelings in under-developed countries, it is impossible to make them understand how this could happen in a free country and in a free society with our high standard of living. To the Americans this separatist feeling is even more incomprehensible. Yet it is gratifying to see that many French-Canadians deplore the separatist movement because they realize what an independent Quebec would mean, not only to the province itself, but to the rest of the world.

Yet, have enough voices been raised by our French-Canadian politicians and business leaders? Regrettably, the answer is an emphatic "No".

Some voices are now being raised, however, and in places where they will do the most good. More and more French-Canadians are coming to believe that their future lies, not in separatism, but in a revised Canadianism within a revised constitution that will give the French-Canadian the realization that he has the right to stand equally beside

the millions of other Canadians of many origins who accept Canada as their own country.

This, I think we can say thankfully, is the attitude of the Lesage government. Only the other day the most verbally vigorous member of that government, Mr. Rene Levesque, rejected separatism as a solution for Quebec. Not long ago Mr. Levesque was edging towards separatism – at least he didn't reject it, if only as a last resort. Now he definitely excludes it. Mind you, neither he nor Mr. Lesage abandons any of Quebec's claims, but they seek to assert them through a cooperative federalism, and not by way of separatism.

This is the kind of Canadianism with which English-speaking Canadians must come to some accommodation. It is just here that there is some danger of the dialogue supposed to be going on in Quebec becoming a monologue. The French-Canadian view, whether about separatism or cooperative federalism, is heard more often and more loudly than the English view.

We need to get the dialogue on a basis of facts, and not of nationalistic ideologies. We have a lesson to learn from the Common Market. While no barriers have separated Canadians as a nation, in Quebec the language and a way of life have. We, as English-Canadians, must take a share of the blame if the French-Canadian feels that he has been treated like an inferior citizen. Whether by accident or design many of us have made no effort to speak French in centres where French was the predominant language, thereby imparting an attitude of English superiority. The lesson we have to learn is one of trade – trade among ourselves, with ourselves, and share among ourselves. It is only in this domain that both French and English-speaking Canadians can be made to realize that they are part of the same scheme of things.

The lack of affinity has not been one-sided. One hears of few French-Canadians on the boards of English companies, but what about the lack of English-Canadians on French-Canadian boards?

If we, as English-Canadian businessmen, feel that Confederation is worth saving – as I do – the initiative is up to us. There is much to be done. We seek to stay out of the stream of public life and as a result our image has suffered greatly. This is particularly true in Quebec where some are inclined to look upon us as something monstrous. We avoid political life like the plague, yet we are the first to complain about events that may shatter our complacency.

If more businessmen had taken an interest in the political life of their country – at the grass roots of a Party where decisions and policies are made – and at the Parliamentary and legislative level, we might not have lost touch with French-Canadian aspirations and some of the assaults by governments on private enterprise in recent years might have been avoided. I dare say that our public image, in any event, would be more complimentary.

There is a great breakthrough being made in education in Quebec today, and in other provinces we find a growing sentiment for the extension of French teaching in the schools. The breakthrough in Quebec is of their own making, their own decision, as it must be. The fate of Confederation may depend upon the outcome of this educational development within a decade. We must not let the French-Canadian feel that he is being by-passed, or we will have failed Confederation. Nor must today's French-speaking Canadian too readily condemn Confederation either, because of the inadequacies of a system he inherited. But the English-speaking Canadian in Quebec must not keep silent about those matters which affect his own interest and the interest of the country as a whole.

Let me say in closing that though I make no pretence at speaking French well, I feel, at least, that I can show my impartiality in that I am married to a French-Canadian and have two children who are perfectly bilingual, and while I am not proposing that all of you duplicate this feat, I do honestly feel that we, as English-Canadian businessmen, could accomplish much more in French-Canadian understanding, if we opened our offices to French-Canadian students to let them see and learn the inner workings of industry and business, than we would by taking furtive, and not always too successful, lessons in speaking French.

May I leave some thoughts with you:

Should we not send vocational guidance and personnel advisers to French-speaking universities to tell about opportunities ahead for students? If they only *hear* about you, and not *from* you – what can they believe, and who can they believe?

Should we not sponsor seminars between French-speaking and English-speaking businessmen to discuss, in confidence, what to do, not just what to say, to ensure for all Canadians equality of opportunity – and that they all feel it?

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President Dr. C. C. Goldring.

FEBRUARY 11, 1964

Diamond Jubilee Dinner

AN ADDRESS BY *The Right Honourable
Sir Alec Douglas-Home*
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley.

Diamond Jubilee Year

THE SETTING

The highlight of our 60th Anniversary Year was unquestionably the magnificent formal dinner held in the Canadian and Ontario Rooms of the Royal York Hotel on Tuesday evening, February 11th, when almost 1,800 members and guests of the Empire Club greeted our Guest of Honour and Anniversary Speaker, the Right Honourable Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

On this historic occasion it was appropriate that among the very distinguished head table guests were all the Past Presidents of the Club who were possibly able to be in the city on that occasion. We were particularly honoured to have with us that night the Prime Minister of Canada; the Prime Minister of Ontario; the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; the former Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, Colonel the Honourable J. Keiller Mackay; the Honourable Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defence; the British

High Commissioner; the Chairman of the Metropolitan Toronto Council; the Mayor of the City of Toronto, and a host of other distinguished guests.

The setting was a most colourful one – the rooms be-decked with flags and bunting, the attractive table centre-pieces and the magnificent floral arrangements. Pomp and ceremony had their place, adding to the unforgettable nature of the evening without detracting in the slightest from the unusually relaxed and enjoyable atmosphere which marked the event as one of the most successful ever held in Toronto. Thanks to the great organizational talents of the Chairman of the Diamond Jubilee Committee, Lieutenant Colonel Bruce J. Legge, and the wholehearted co-operation of many of the Toronto Militia units, the Anniversary Dinner turned out to be one of the most magnificent and impressive observances one could hope to attend.

Prior to dinner and during the early part of the evening the guests were entertained by the Toronto Garrison Artillery Band playing in the balcony. All key entrances and stairways were manned by colourful sentries of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada. The head table and the V.I.P. party were each respectively conducted from the library to the Canadian Room by the Pipe Majors of the 48th Highlanders of Canada and the Toronto Scottish Regiment. As the distinguished guests approached the Canadian Room they passed through the outstanding Guard-of-Honour provided by the Royal Regiment of Canada and were greeted as they entered the Canadian Room itself by a resounding fanfare from the Coronation Trumpeters of the Governor-General's Horse Guards.

The events that occurred following the post-dinner break are recorded in the following pages, but the words alone, however wonderful they may be, cannot entirely recapture the excitement, the colour, and the unforgettable

spirit that pervaded the entire affair and which helped to make it such an unforgettable milestone in the Club's history.

MR. LANGLEY:

Would you be good enough to take your places? I hope our emergency seating plan is working out reasonably well and I thank you for your patience, gentlemen.

First of all, I want to welcome you all most warmly to this magnificent dinner. I think it is a great tribute to our Guest of Honour that such an overflow attendance should greet him here tonight.

This is a particularly historic event because to the best of my knowledge this is the first private function that has ever been graced by the presence of three Prime Ministers.

As you will see from your programme I will be introducing two of them later. I do want to take this opportunity to express a special welcome to the Prime Minister of Canada, The Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson.

We are sorry indeed that our Honorary President, the Governor General, could not be with us tonight. He had hoped it would be possible for him to attend and he has asked me to express to all of you his regrets at not being able to come and to extend his very best wishes to everyone attending this dinner.

Now, to proceed with the formal part of our programme it is my pleasure to ask our Second-Vice-President, Mr. R. B. Stapells, to propose a toast to the Empire Club.

MR. STAPELLS:

Thank you, Mr. President. This is indeed an honour. It is said that although a woman may know that she is loved, still she likes her lover to tell her so, and

so it is true of all manner of persons, including this Club, "Our Empire Club", which has been advancing the interests of Canada and a United Commonwealth and Empire for sixty years.

It is therefore fitting that we should show our affection for this Club of tradition in a traditional manner.

A toast, gentlemen. Please rise with me and drink a toast to our Club on the occasion of its Sixtieth Anniversary.

Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada.

MR. LANGLEY:

Thank you very much, Mr. Stapells. Past President John Griffin will, I know, echo your thoughts as he responds to this toast.

MR. GRIFFIN:

Your Honour, Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Premier Robarts, Prime Minister Douglas-Home, my Lords and gentlemen: How can anyone sum up in a few words the history of the Empire Club? Perhaps by saying that it is a forum of opinion and a rostrum for distinguished men. The history of the Club is found in the speeches which are delivered from our platform and these addresses reflect in a remarkable way the history of our country, its domestic problems and its relations in the world over the last sixty years.

In fact, The Empire Club has no history apart from the history of Canada, whose welfare it was founded to serve.

How that history has changed and varied since our founding! When this Club was founded in 1903, there must have been men living in Toronto who navigated the Nile with Kitchener or marched to Mafeking in South Africa and I am sure there are a few senior members in the room tonight whose fathers did just those very things.

Although these events took place in far off corners of what was then the British Empire, the founders of this Club believed that they, the events, were of concern to Canadians. The founders of this Club believed in a sense of family and a spirit of community which informed and inspired the Empire in those days which, please God, will continue to regulate the relationships in the Commonwealth for generations to come.

The founders of this Club believed in one Canadian nation as established by The British North America Act.

The idea that a province belonged by virtue of a terminable contract, with the right to break away and establish a separate sovereign state would have been anathema to them just as it is to us.

Only last week this Club heard an address entitled "Separatism, a Dangerous Philosophy". I think it is significant that we were spoken to on this subject. Perhaps it means that this Club, which was founded to help hold the British family of nations together, is beginning its second sixty years as a strong influence to hold Canada together.

MR. LANGLEY:

Thank you very much, Mr. Griffin. I think you and the members will all be interested in a brief excerpt from a letter which the Chairman of our Year Book Committee received today from the Library of Parliament and which acknowledges the receipt of our last year's Year Book and in this message points up, I think, the continued significance of our work as stressed by Mr. Griffin.

The Parliamentary Librarian says, amongst other things: "Certainly we have found it a valuable aid in assisting Members of Parliament to prepare speeches" – and a promise for the future when it says: "We wish you at least another sixty years of successful operations and hope that

you will continue to provide us with your valuable volumes.”

Now, gentlemen, without benefit of further introduction but with a very warm welcome, the Prime Minister of Ontario, John P. Robarts.

MR. ROBARTS:

Mr. Chairman, your Honour, Mr. Prime Minister, Your Worship, Mr. Chairman of Metro, my Lords, honoured guests and gentlemen.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here in the midst of this very enthusiastic group of members of the Empire Club of Canada, and at the same time it is a great privilege and delight to greet very warmly the British Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who is accompanied to Toronto today by The Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to pay tribute to the Empire Club of Canada on the occasion of this Jubilee Dinner and as has been said so well by John Griffin: Since it was formed in 1903, this Club has consistently stood for a united Canada within the Commonwealth. I think that we can say that the success of the Club really has stemmed from the broad character and the extent of its activities which have caused it to grow in esteem and in influence among the Canadian people and in celebrating this sixtieth year, the Club is honoured tonight by the presence of Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

Now, Sir, since your stay in Ontario is to be a brief one, the Province of Ontario is unable to do what it might have done in different circumstances had you been here longer, but we are availing ourselves of this opportunity to be associated with the Empire Club in recognizing this evening as a very special occasion indeed.

Therefore the Government of the Province of Ontario is

making a presentation to the Empire Club of this special box, which I might say, Sir, is made of Ontario silver, and we are very proud of our local products in this province.

Perhaps I can read to you what is engraved on the top of it, which can say more clearly than I the purpose of the presentation presented by myself on behalf of the Government and the people of Ontario to the Empire Club of Canada.

“In recognition of its Sixtieth Anniversary of valued services to the people of Canada and to mark the presence at this Diamond Jubilee Dinner of the Right Honourable Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, Toronto, February 11th, 1964.”

Therefore, Mr. President, may I ask you to receive this on behalf of the Club with the best wishes of the Government and the people of Ontario.

CHAIRMAN:

Mr. Prime Minister, this is truly a princely gift. I wish you could all see it. It is a magnificent box. It bears the Coat of Arms of the Province of Ontario at the top, over the inscription and the Coat of Arms of the Empire Club at the bottom.

It is a magnificent thing. I think it is wonderful that our Diamond Jubilee and the visit of Sir Alec Douglas-Home should be so magnificently commemorated.

A simple “Thank you” hardly seems adequate to express to you, Sir, and to the Province, the very warmest appreciation of all the members of the Empire Club for this recognition of our sixtieth anniversary. You have paid us a wonderful tribute. We are very grateful.

I think many of the members would like to see this box

and therefore when we do adjourn we will arrange to have the box left right here so that anyone who wants to come up and see it will have an opportunity to do so. It is a magnificent box and well worth seeing.

Now, gentlemen, the address of our Guest of Honour is being broadcast coast to coast by the national network. We are now going to await directions from our producer, Mr. Reid Forsee, so when I rise again, we will be on the air.

MR. FORSEE:

Good evening. In a few moments CBC Radio will bring to you an address by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, The Right Honourable Sir Alec Douglas-Home, K.T., who is the Guest of Honour at the Diamond Jubilee Dinner which crowns the Sixtieth Anniversary Year of the Empire Club of Canada.

The dinner is being held in the Royal York Hotel in Toronto in the huge Canadian Room, which is filled to capacity for this event.

The British Prime Minister spent yesterday in Ottawa conferring with Prime Minister Pearson who is here this evening, and before returning to London will meet with President Lyndon Johnson in Washington.

The Chairman of this Empire Club Diamond Jubilee Dinner is the Club President, Arthur J. Langley. We are transferring you now to the head table and Mr. Langley.

CHAIRMAN:

Your Honour, Honourable gentlemen, my Lords, distinguished guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada: I think it is a very happy coincidence that our Guest of Honour should have been born in the year of our founding and we are very proud that he is honouring us tonight on the occasion of our birthday celebration.

We welcome him not as a stranger but as one who in the discharge of his public duties has visited Canada before and become widely known by all Canadians and more than that, renowned and highly respected.

His boyhood progression through Eton and Oxford led quickly to the battlefields of politics, and a seat in the House of Commons which he held for fourteen years until his defeat in 1945.

Shortly after re-entering the House in 1950, he succeeded his father as the fourteenth earl and took his seat in the House of Lords where he served until the dramatic days of last fall when he again stepped upon the Commons stage but in a new and very challenging role.

Sir Alec's contributions as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, as Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords and latterly as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs have brought him intimately into touch with all facets of our evolving Commonwealth and with every aspect of the tangled web of world affairs that demands so much of strength and wisdom and patience from the leaders of the free world and for this we can all be very grateful.

We are glad, too, that coupled with this impressive background goes a friendliness and a keen sense of humour that he may perhaps attribute to his Scottish lineage.

Certainly as one of our members reminded me, we owe much to the Scots. For example, Sir John A. Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie and William Lyon Mackenzie all played key roles in shaping Canada's early years but I think that few, however, know that the link between our guest and Canada's early development as a nation is a very personal one, for Sir Alec is a direct descendant of both Lord Durham and Lord Elgin.

A statesman who has grappled with great and serious

problems, Sir Alec has yet the wit to have made this canny observation:

“The English always say that we Scots retarded the advance of civilization. If we had known what civilization was going to be like, we would have retarded it a great deal longer.”

Gentlemen, it is with great pride that I present the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME:

Your Honour, Prime Minister of Canada, Prime Minister of Ontario, Mr. Mayor, Chairman of the Metropolitan Council and Mr. President. I think it is at that point that I pause to recall that my great grand-father wrote the Canadian Constitution. Immediately I must make up for all that by thanking you for the really princely hospitality and warmth of the welcome you have given me this evening, even though, Mr. Chairman, as you disclose, I am a Scotsman.

This evening I had to look in the telephone book upstairs and when I looked I really might as well have been in Glasgow and it is at that point I must say when there are so many Scotsmen around, I begin to feel sorry for all the rest.

I remember at the beginning of the war being in a sergeants' mess in Glasgow with a lot of Scotsmen around, throwing their weight around, and there was a corporal of the Irish Fusiliers there and he could stand it no longer. He went up to a sergeant in the Argyles and he shook his hand in his face and he said, “The heart of an Irishman beats as loyally under the tunic of an Irish Fusilier as ever it did under the kilt of a Highlander.”

Confused anatomy, but the meaning is clear.

Under what better circumstances could I come to talk to the Empire Club of Canada than coming fresh from conversations that I have had with the Prime Minister of Canada, one who has always played such a creative part in international affairs.

I don't think I shall be revealing any secrets when I say that one of the subjects we touched on was Anglo-Canadian trade, and I said to him that I hoped Canada in the future would buy more from Great Britain than she is at present, at which he looked faintly surprised but readily agreed that our trade ministers should meet and talk.

Very good – this is splendid. I must warn both Ministers I hold the whip hand because if Britain wants to earn dollars from Canada, I warn you, I shall send the Beatles to Toronto – and they will bring back, I think, either Canadian dollars or Ontario silver or whatever it may be.

But I am not going to talk to you about Scotland this evening. I am not going to talk to you about economics. I am going to make a bold proposition and that is that there is today a change coming over the world.

Man's emotions from the very beginning of time have been simple but elusive. They have been food and life, and the lot of man has been an unending struggle and he has never won the fight for either, either against nature or against his neighbour. Perversely, when the invention of machines put plenty within his grasp, at least in the northern part of the world, mankind embarked on the latest edition of the religious-political war. A large part of the energy of man since the war has been absorbed in the conflict between communism and democracy; with the communist in the east launching a crusade to impose a paradise upon others, whether they liked it or not, and with the free man in the west believing that the state exists to serve the individual and to provide man, if the state can help, with food and with

security and, if it is possible in this life on earth, with happiness.

There has always been something in the nature of Christian man to identify tyranny with evil and insist that man will lose his life and his dignity that God gave him, if he is dominated by another and given the nature of the communist creed, I believe that the cold war which we have known for many years now, was inevitable.

Corruption, Sir, can march so far under the banner of benevolence but the communists revealed their true colours when they tried to impose paradise at the gun point. The reaction of the free world was immediate and instinctive and before we could – can or could – come together with the communist world for the purpose of peaceful living or as President Johnson lately put it “the pursuits of peace”, it was necessary, absolutely necessary, that force should be eliminated from the communist calculations for the future.

I believe, in fact, that it is possible to say as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, that force is eliminated from their national programme and I believe that the change came with Cuba, when the American action in Cuba demonstrated in a stark and total sense that war as an instrument of policy was a dead-end for communism and that shock pulled up potential aggressors sharp in their tracks. And what is more, face to face with the bomb every man and every country had to re-think the philosophy which had governed life between neighbour and neighbour since the beginning of time.

Man, in his need or in his greed, had always turned to wars and then in a moment of arresting and really blinding clarity there was the revelation at the time of the Cuba crisis that force has no meaning except death.

This time the response of both East and West was instantaneous.

Now, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which I had the

privilege of signing in Moscow, was not on the face of it a parting of the ways. Nevertheless, in that act, East and West chose, and the decision which both the Soviet Union and the great nations of the West chose at that time, was to turn our backs on the signpost which showed the way and the road to war and at least the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was this: it was a recognition that living under a mushroom cloud was very much nearer hell than paradise. That was the least of it – the most of it was a renunciation of force and as far as the British people are concerned, and I notice this of Canadians, too, we have always felt that sterile coexistence with the Soviet Union should be converted into positive cooperation and following the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty I think that the steps on the road to cooperation will be very slow. Nevertheless, having made the choice, I believe they will be deliberate and that neither party, neither the Soviet Union nor the West will now turn back; and if that judgment is right, and I, in my time, have said some pretty harsh things about communism, if that judgment is right, then that in itself is a great gain for mankind.

But, Sir, there is something much more than force which has to be abandoned if peace in the world is to be real. It is the communist doctrine, the communist belief that subversion and the chaos which follows upon subversion bring to communist states an opportunity for new domination and power. That belief is active. How else only the other day could the leader of the great Chinese Republic on leaving the Continent of Africa have said, apparently with great satisfaction, "The prospects for revolution in Africa are excellent."

If that doctrine survives and as it does, there is another task before the countries of the free world. For that tendency to subvert and to undermine and to bring about chaos must be exorcised with the same pertinacity as we used to

convince the Russians that force cannot under any circumstances pay.

So I think it must be clear even to the communists that disorder followed by chaos means poverty and that poverty above all things drags man into war and a war that will lead to man's own destruction.

If, however, the Russians have thought, and they have done so, that they can stir the pot of trouble and gain some advantage from it, then if they take one look at the rich, northern, stable part of the world and the poverty-stricken half which is to the south of us then I think the fact must carry conviction. For the betterment which the Russians seek for their own people and the better living that they want must lie in cooperation, and that strife and disorder must be the worst enemy of modern Russia.

So I hope that Russia, having abandoned a policy of active war and war as an instrument of policy, may now begin to see that great chaos and disorder is one of the most short-sighted things that she could create, from the point of view of her own development and the happiness and the future of the Russian people.

The second greatest preoccupation of the rest of humanity has been the virtual end of the process of decolonization. It began one hundred years ago, Sir, as we have just been reminded, when Lord Durham wrote the Constitution of Canada and introduced self-government. At that time, if I may paraphrase one of the writings he sent home at the time, he forecast that the future of the British colonies would be to move from dependence to independence to interdependence and that was not a bad forecast one hundred and thirty years ago.

Our great neighbour to the south of you, and we in Scotland have a great neighbour to the south of us, too, and on the whole we have profited pretty well out of them – your

great neighbour, I suppose, might put the date a little earlier at a certain tea party.

But the fact that British Colonial rule is nearly at an end and remember this – that it was the seed of principle in the Christian democratic societies that made it inevitable that the end of colonialism should be free nations, inter-dependent with each other in a Commonwealth.

But here the change is evident. The political face of the world has been recast. The balance of power has been redistributed. The British Empire and other empires have gone and the new countries of Asia and Africa are groping to find food and security and identity and peace.

And, basically, Sir, they have the same choice, the newly independent countries, as their northern neighbours had when the great empires of Europe began to break up.

Are they going to concentrate their energies on the simple needs of their people, the food and order and security and education, or are they going to divert their energies and their scanty wealth into postures of rivalry and jealousy which lead to frustration and fear and want and war?

Is the reaction to decolonization going to be nationalism and racialism and the sequel to freedom, covetness; or are the old nations and the new nations going to refuse to be petrified into the old patterns and consciously settle down to find prosperity and safety with and for each other?

On the face of it one might, as one looks at the world of today, despair. In many countries, law and order is at best precarious and in all too few the law rests on consent and in all too few the order is just, and if there is so much internal anarchy and external rivalry, how can we establish international law? How, having established it, can we act on it?

The instrument, Mr. Prime Minister, which all of us in the West chose, was the Security Council of the United

Nations and we hope we can rely on it to give collective security to any country which might be threatened. It has not yet succeeded in establishing worldwide order or an international police force and indeed, it has only been able to make the most tentative start because of the veto and the use of the veto by the Soviet Union.

We may hope, gentlemen, if I am right in what I said earlier, that the attitude of the Soviet Union may change but we must be honest with ourselves. Even if Russia were to modify the veto tomorrow, and a standing force for the United Nations was created, by what authority would it lay down the law? Because, Sir, nations today hesitate again and again to put their affairs in the hands of the Security Council, whose members embrace such wide interpretations of justice and such very different senses of human values.

I suggest that there is therefore an urgent responsibility which lies upon Canadians and the people of the United States and the people of Britain to lead the members of the United Nations back to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

I can, at least on behalf of my country, pledge you this: that we shall persevere to make the United Nations into an effective instrument of collective security and a guarantor of man's basic needs for food and life and peace.

There is much credit that goes to this organization today. It is the speaker's corner of the world. It does much to alleviate hunger and want and to bring education to people and it has begun policing operations which we hope one day will end up in an international police force.

We and you work for it. We and you pay for it but we cannot begin to organize world order and stability until the Soviet Union and the friends of the Soviet Union cease to use the United Nations for their own political ends.

Sir, the message which Mr. Khrushchev sent to me about

Cyprus only the other day, which got an immediate and I hope a just reply, is a measure of the gulf that yet has to be breached before we can make the United Nations a working reality. Also, there is, all over the world, widespread jealousy, rivalry and strife which prevent the creation of an international police force representative of a united world.

And it is all that — and that is saying a lot — it is all that that you Canadians, we British and the United States in particular, have to change. Therefore, at present we are bound to conclude that it is not the goodness of man which keeps the peace, but the peace is kept by one thing today and one thing only, and that is the fear of the nuclear bomb. It is that which is bringing to an end the cold war. It is that today which is in fact keeping the peace. It has held the peace since 1945 and it keeps it now, for this very good reason, that nobody dares to start a war because any war today may escalate quickly into a nuclear exchange.

The nuclear deterrent has compelled the Soviet Union to drop its hybridous policy and enter into areas of agreement.

I think what the bomb has started may well now be followed by wheat. The United States and Canada have taken a deliberate decision, and do not underestimate the decision taken. You have decided to meet your communist neighbours' needs and this may be the modern illustration and perhaps the modern beginning of beating swords into ploughshares.

I trust, at any rate, that it will be the symbol of change, for although the nuclear bomb keeps the peace and although it is the only guarantor of peace one can see at the present time, at any rate in the northern half of the world, nevertheless the nuclear bomb is only acceptable if it is a means to an end, and while it holds the peace we must launch a convincing attack upon the discontent in the world, and the

only way to do it is to get all the countries so deeply involved in helping each other to live and live well, that racialism and rivalry, envy and covetousness and the desire to expand at the expense of your neighbour should be put aside as obsolete relics of the past.

Gentlemen, the Christian Churches have showed us lately an example in striving for unity which has been widely acclaimed by ordinary men and women the world over. Now the Christian nations must throw themselves into the task of healing these artificial divisions of the world.

We shall have many opportunities in 1964, in the industrial, northern half of the world, to encourage, as President Johnson has said, "the pursuits of peace".

It is clear that the problem of problems which faces us all in the future, in the years ahead, is the disparity of wealth which there is between the rich nations of the north and the poor nations of the south. It is very clear that the great gulf cannot be bridged in a few years, but there are the strongest of reasons for tackling it now. There can be no stability and order until we succeed. So long as there is hunger to satisfy, sickness to cure and education to supply, then our conscience urges us on to do so.

But the thing we must mark is this, that the division of wealth broadly coincides with the division of colour, and therefore there is a danger of racialism separating the world in horizontal lines and, gentlemen, if we should exchange the evil of an East-West confrontation for a confrontation between North and South, where colour was identified with poverty and riches with a white skin, then that will be a danger far more terrible than anything we have faced in the history of the world up to now.

And, is there an answer to hand? Well, there is in the United Nations through which we must all work, but I am going to suggest to you that the modern commonwealth, Sir,

of every race, is a wonderful opportunity to defeat these dangers by example.

Finally this, and in a word, what are the means? There are the developed countries which are giving larger and larger quantities – it is not all, you know, a question of money. It is a question of people and an exchange of people.

We have in Britain today 42,000 commonwealth students in our universities and colleges and a thousand out in the field. The more we can send people out into the undeveloped countries of the Commonwealth, the more quickly we shall lead them to prosperity.

There is trade and investment. The most important contribution the developed countries can make is the steady expansion of their own economy because that gives increased markets and also increases our ability to invest and give aid. It is very seldom that one gets the best of all worlds, but in this case it is the duty of the developed countries to prosper.

Then, we must have liberal trading policies and there are two opportunities this year: the United Nations Trade Conference and the Kennedy round for a reduction of tariffs. There is the possibility of greater stability from commodity price arrangement and the problem too of international liquidity, so countries may tide over temporary balance of payments strain. We have done better than we did in the past but there is still improvement to be made there.

Lastly, there is the part which the receiving countries must play and in this they must create a climate of confidence if they want capital to come. Of course, over the years Canada has been in this way an outstanding example but now we are trying to help the under-developed Commonwealth and the under-developed world. We must in fairness say that nothing will induce investors to put their capital overseas if their profits and their capital itself is in danger

of confiscation. Therefore, it will be a very good thing if a code of conduct for the treatment of capital can be worked out by the recipient countries which they will pledge themselves to observe.

Sir, one of the ironies of life has been that the newly independent countries have been born into a world which is already interdependent. The great countries and the great nations can no longer impose their will on the small, nor can the small countries hope to enjoy even the fringe of the prosperity of the twentieth or twenty-first centuries without the help of the great nations. For those who are tempted to fling their weight about, this will be a restraining influence. For those who have drunk deeply of the heady wine of independence, perhaps it will be a sobering thought.

But there are great prizes to be won if we act together and if we do not act together let us remember that nobody can say that as the years and generations go ahead, the nuclear danger will not fall upon man and we may not be alive to collect the prizes. It will be small comfort then for the few, poor, stricken survivors to apportion the blame.

I see no reason why the northern nations of the world and in this I include the Russians, should not recognize the common duty in working together to solve what are common interests. We and the Soviet Union have everything in common in that we wish to preserve the human race from extinction. We have a common interest in fostering prosperity and expansion. We have everything to gain, surely, from rising living standards, and the subvertent who destroys society, leaves an impoverished wreck on the hands of all.

Therefore, the surest way to serve mankind and the only way in the twentieth century, is to jettison ideological conflict and to organize the world together for peace and plenty. If the Soviet Union is willing to settle the differences in Europe and turn to the fruitful field of enterprise, then

the small squabbles in the world will all disappear, because the poor and discontented and thwarted will see before them the prizes of the fullness of life.

When I spoke at the Montreal Economic Conference in 1958 I quoted, as I quoted to you tonight, what my great grandfather said about the future of the Commonwealth and the future of nations; how they were bound to move from dependence to independence to interdependence and that is good. So let Canada and Britain, who sowed the seeds of independence, who are working together for interdependence, help the world to reap the harvest.

I have spoken to you this evening for a long time and I thank you for your patience. I remembered I was getting rather long and that there was a time in my youth when I used to go and play games several times a year against a local lunatic asylum. I cannot imagine what put this into my head at this time, but I do recall that when we used to have lunch with them after the game, there was the chief lunatic there who thought he was God and he was rather sticky in conversation. I remember that one of our wives, seeking to loosen things up a bit, turned to him and said "Sir, is it really true that you made the world in six days?" To which he replied with dignity and restraint, "Madam, I never talk shop at meals."

CHAIRMAN:

Thank you, sir.

Gentlemen, our thanks will be expressed by Past President Colonel Bruce Legge.

COLONEL LEGGE:

Mr. President, your Honour, honourable Prime Minister, my Lords, distinguished guests and fellow members of the Empire Club of Canada. It is an impossible task to offer your appreciation to the Right

Honourable Sir Alec Douglas-Home for his magnificent address to the Diamond Jubilee Dinner of the Empire Club of Canada.

To please him, I should say all of his audience are conservatives and so they are by Emerson's definition. "Men are conservative when they are luxurious." They are conservative after dinner. Emerson's conservatives are not Mr. Pearson, but everyone of us enjoyed Sir Alec's speech.

Tonight, Sir, you represent that proud line of British Prime Ministers who have spoken a variety of speeches to our Club and whose names illuminate the past sixty years of world history. In 1922 Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in whose office you once served, Mr. Prime Minister, spoke to us of our inevitable destiny as a united people.

In 1946 Sir Anthony Eden proclaimed "Ours is not a faith that we seek to thrust down the throats of others but we believe in our faith because it is founded upon freedom."

During Hitler's rise to power, Mr. Harold Macmillan told the Club "Isolation is a very good defence against smallpox. It is a very bad defence against invasion."

In 1927 Mr. Stanley Baldwin demanded that the high road of learning should be made free for all who can walk, and added a modern Toryism, Mr. Prime Minister, but do not prohibit motorcars or flying.

Sir, only last December you said in the Palace of Westminster, "It was a speech of Lloyd George's that brought me into this place."

It was in 1923 that Lloyd George told us of the British inability to advertise their virtues, and that inability, he hoped, would never change.

Then, in 1929 the immortal Sir Winston Churchill, flawlessly introduced as the gentleman of courage, told the Club: "There are two ways of governing people, force and tradition. In the British Empire we rely upon tradition."

Sir Alec, as a Scotsman who governs the English, you

have tonight enhanced the lustre of the great British Prime Ministers who have preceded you to our forum and you have enriched the living tradition of the Empire Club.

Like Edmund Burke you reminded us that people will not look forward to prosperity who never looked backwards to their ancestors, even if they did not write the Constitution.

Mr. Prime Minister, it is exactly one hundred and fifty years ago since General Ross stormed Washington for the British. I hope that you will not now have too much difficulty in persuading President Johnson that the Beatles, whom you must have sent from Britain and who are now at the very moment of this dinner invading Washington, are not your secret weapon to beat the Americans at their own game but are simply there to earn America's dollars.

Sir, we trust that you will return to London in safety and in honour. Above all, we hope that you will always cherish the tribute which the Empire Club of Canada gives to you for speaking to us in our Diamond Jubilee Year as the Right Honourable, The Prime Minister of Great Britain.

*Ladies Dinner for
Lady Douglas-Home*

While Sir Alec was dining with the members of the Empire Club, we were privileged to be able to entertain his gracious wife at a private dinner in the Saskatchewan room of the Royal York Hotel.

Our hostess for the evening was the wife of our President, Mrs. Arthur Langley, who received with the wife of our Honorary Vice-President, Mrs. Earl Rowe. Joining them for this occasion were Lady Lintott, Mrs. William Allen, Mrs. Philip Givens, Mrs. J. R. W. Wilby, Mrs. Robert Curson, Mrs. Jean Casselman, Mrs. Keiller MacKay, Mrs. D. R. Michener, Mrs. R. B. Stapells, Mrs. E. M. Howse, Mrs. B. J. Legge and Mrs. Harold Gillingham.

FEBRUARY 17,

Our Economic Prospects and Policies

AN ADDRESS BY

Dr. Walter W. Heller

CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

JOINT MEETING

with The Canadian Club of Toronto

CHAIRMAN

The President of the Canadian Club,
Mr. Harold Rea

MR. REA:

Today we welcome to what was once the outpost of Fort York, a gentleman from what is still Washington. Over 150 years ago, after the Americans burned Fort York (an event rarely mentioned by polite Torontonians), British and Canadian forces after starting a few fires in our guest's native city of Buffalo, proceeded to commit retaliatory arson in Washington and left enough scars on the Presidential mansion to necessitate several coats of white paint which resulted in the name "The White House". That episode is often recalled by our American friends, *never* or *hardly ever* mentioned by Canadians, and completely unknown to the British.

Not long ago a choleric American said to a phlegmatic Englishman, "We'll never forgive you Britishers for burning Washington." "Burning Washington," said the Englishman, "I know we burned Joan of Arc but I always thought Mr. Washington died in his bed."

Our guest has visited Canada many times and has been extremely interested in Canada-United States relations. I know he rejoices with us that considerable progress has been made in our relations during the past 152 years, because at that time we were at war with each other and to put it mildly there was considerable unpleasantness between us. In fact a New York newspaper on July 4th, 1812, had this to say about Canada in its lead editorial:

“A peace that would leave Britain in possession of Canada would be worse than war. A smuggler, a pirate, a man-stealer, a corrupter of the morals of our citizens, a hirer of spies with a view to our injury in time of peace, a fomenter of Indian hostilities, a violator of our neutral rights, a subverter of the laws of nations, a government of despots and aristocrats; Canada certainly is not, will not, and cannot be a good and safe neighbour for the United States.”

I think this editorial was probably contemporary with the saying that the world is divided into two classes – those who thanked God the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock and those who wished to God the Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrim Fathers!

Walter Wolfgang Heller – our honoured guest – is best known as the Chairman of the President's three-man Council of Economic Advisers. He has prepared for some years “The Economic Report of the President” which shapes the outline of the Budget and Financial policy of his Government. Inasmuch as the economic health of Canada is so closely interwoven with the financial fabric of the United States, we are extremely pleased to welcome to this forum one so well informed on the United States economy.

Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota, associate and visiting professor at Harvard and Washing-

ton, he has written many scholarly books and pamphlets and served on many national and international committees. He has made many memorable speeches and has been the subject of so many analytical and commendatory articles in famous journals. You will soon know why.

May I end this introduction by telling Dr. Heller that when an American like him talks to Canadians like us, it is fitting to recall the words carved on a monument in the St. Lawrence Seaway – dedicated by Queen Elizabeth and President Eisenhower –

“THIS STONE BEARS WITNESS TO THE COMMON PURPOSE OF TWO NATIONS WHOSE FRONTIERS ARE THE FRONTIERS OF FRIENDSHIP, WHOSE WORKS ARE THE WORKS OF FREEDOM, AND WHOSE WAYS ARE THE WAYS OF PEACE.”

DR. HELLER:

It is a singular honour to address the doubly eminent memberships of the Canadian and Empire Clubs – and I am thrice blessed to do so at a time when both the Canadian and U.S. economies are expanding and both the Canadian and U.S. external deficits are contracting!

It has been my repeated privilege over the years to study and profit by your Canadian fiscal experience. It was 25 years ago when I journeyed, first, to Ottawa and Toronto to view and admire the workings of your joint dominion-provincial income tax collection system and, later, to British Columbia to study its pioneering income tax withholding system and to draw insights which proved valuable in developing the U.S. withholding system in 1942-43.

And I also recall with pleasure serving as host to the Honourable Douglas Abbott in 1952 at the University of Minnesota. As Finance Minister, he shared with us some of Canada's advanced experiences with bold and flexible

fiscal policy in a setting of budget surpluses. Which was cause and which was effect – as between bold policy and surpluses – is not entirely clear. But given today's bold U.S. policy of a tax cut in the face of persistent deficits, I hope – and indeed we have solid basis for believing – that bold fiscal policy is cause and surpluses will be effect.

Because we are on the very threshold of a 20 per cent Federal income tax cut, I believe it is safe to forecast that the most important precondition of satisfactory U.S. Canadian economic relations in 1964-65 *will* be satisfied: that your companion economy to the South *will* do its fair share in maintaining the prosperous expansion of the North American economy. Indeed, we are now completing 36 months of unbroken expansion. And with the aid of the tax cut, we expect to topple all peacetime records, not just for strength but for length, of U.S. economic expansions.

It is against the backdrop of tax reduction that I want to review with you today the performance, the policies, and the prospects of the U.S. economy – not denying myself, in this process, a few observations on U.S.-Canadian economic relations.

The Tax Cut

The nearly-\$12 million net income tax cut which should reach the President's desk within the next ten days is:

- a milestone in the development of U.S. fiscal policy;
- the keystone of U.S. economic policy for 1964;
- the cornerstone of the U.S. economic outlook for 1964-65.

So let me take a moment to review its major dimensions. I shall here deal only with the tax-cutting core of the bill

and not with its many structural improvements which, among other things:

- recapture several hundred millions by tightening the tax base;
- provide new special exclusions for those with low incomes;
- reform the individual rate structure and drop the starting rate from 20 to 14 per cent and the top rate from 91 to 70 per cent.

The net cut for individuals will come to over \$9 billion, or nearly 20 per cent of present liabilities.

The net cut for corporations will be \$2½ billion. Adding this to nearly \$2½ billion of business tax reduction in 1962, via the investment tax credit and liberalized depreciation, corporations will also have roughly a 20 per cent cut.

Although part of the cut will not take effect till next January, the great bulk of its impact will be felt this year. Early next month, the income tax withholding rate on wages and salaries will drop from 18 to 14 per cent. For 1964 as a whole, \$8 billion less will be collected from individuals. And corporate liabilities will be cut nearly \$1½ billion for 1964 and another \$1 billion for future years as the rate drops:

- from 52 to 48 per cent on net income over \$50,000;
- from 30 to 22 per cent on net income under \$50,000.

To round out our fiscal picture, I should note that Federal purchases of goods and services will rise only moderately this year, tapering off in the second half of the year as President Johnson's austere budget for fiscal 1965 takes effect. And the budget deficit will be cut in half from fiscal 1964 to fiscal 1965:

- from \$10 billion to \$5 billion on an administrative budget basis;
- from \$5.5 billion to \$2.8 billion on a national-income-accounts basis.

Yet by virtue of the deep cut in income taxes, the Federal Government will in 1964 provide a greater net fiscal stimulus to the U.S. economy than in any previous peacetime year. With the tax cut virtually in hand, 1964 is truly a year of great expectations.

The 1964 Outlook

For 1964, we expect a growth of perhaps \$35 to \$40 billion in gross national product against \$30 billion last year. Or, in constant prices, we look for a year-to-year growth of GNP of about 5 per cent in 1964 against just under 4 per cent in 1963. Private forecasts cluster a little below ours, but not as far below as in January a year ago, when we foresaw a 1963 GNP of \$573 to \$583 billion. Actual GNP came to \$585 billion. High as we were, we still fell a bit short. This January, our projection centered on \$623 billion for 1964, based on these expectations:

- consumer spending, fueled by an extra \$8 billion of after-tax income, will take the lead;
- business will not be far behind as it raises its plant and equipment investment by about 10 per cent in response to the double impact of lower taxes and higher operating rates;
- inventory building should increase as sales rise;
- state and local purchases are counted on for their regular \$4 billion annual increase;
- residential building should roughly match the record level of 1963.

With these gains, we expect to renew our inroads on unemployment. In the first year or so of our present expansion (from early 1961 to the spring of 1962):

- real GNP advanced at an average annual rate of $7\frac{1}{3}$ per cent; and
- unemployment steadily declined from 7 per cent to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the labour force.

But since then:

- real GNP advanced at an average rate of only 3.9 per cent; and
- our unemployment rate has been stuck at or near $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

This contrasts sharply with Canada's progress in shrinking its unemployment from 7.9 per cent at the end of 1960 to 4.9 per cent today.

Though the tax cut will put us back on the road to full employment, it will not occur overnight. Indeed, our expectations – though not our hopes – will be fulfilled if we break through the 5 per cent unemployment barrier by the end of 1964, as you did by the end of 1963. If that seems a modest achievement, we should remind ourselves that it has been 75 months since the U.S. unemployment rate last fell below 5 per cent. And it has been 81 months since unemployment last touched 4 per cent.

Side by side with renewed improvement in the unemployment picture, we expect continued improvement in profits. Fears of profitless prosperity – based on past U.S. experience when productivity and profit advances typically tapered off or went into reverse in the second or third year of expansion – have not materialized this time. Corporate profits before taxes rose from \$44 billion in 1961 to \$47 billion in 1962 and \$52 billion in 1963. Another rise – to \$56 billion – is in prospect for 1964. Given the added factor

of more liberal depreciation under the 1962 actions and lower taxes under the 1964 tax act, the profits picture is bright indeed. What makes this record the more remarkable is that it is being achieved in a setting of essential price stability. It is the product of growing volume, rising productivity, and falling taxes.

Except to say that the 1964 outlook for continuing reasonable price stability is very good, let me postpone for a moment further discussion of our price, wage, and balance-of-payments prospects.

The New Setting of Economic Policy

To add not only to your knowledge but to your understanding of U.S. economic developments, one must go behind economic acts and facts to economic thinking and policy. Surely, it is something rather new under the U.S. economic sun when:

- a large tax cut is mounted in the midst of a sustained upswing and in the face of a sizeable budget deficit;
- a Democratic Administration lays heavy stress, in both word and deed, on tax stimulants to investment;
- balance-of-payments considerations play a major role in the economic policy and, in particular, raise the relative priority of price and cost stability as policy objectives.

These changes in policy emphasis grow out of a set of conditions hitherto unknown in modern U.S. economic history. Its central feature is the existence, side by side, of

- a stubborn balance-of-payments deficit externally;
- stubborn unemployment, excess capacity, and price stability internally.

This combination is not unfamiliar to you in Canada. And in many ways it has posed even more acute problems for you than it has for us – though the instrument of devaluation which you successfully used in 1962 cannot and will not be used in the United States.

Our domestic situation calls for expansionary policies – such as monetary ease and tax cuts (and did I not hear a ministerial echo from Edmonton late last month on an eventual Canadian tax cut?) to boost demand and incentives, create jobs and bring us up to our full potential. At the same time our external deficits point the other way: toward restrictive policies, at least short-term, e.g., boosting interest rates or imposing penalty taxes to keep U.S. funds from flowing abroad, and tying foreign aid to purchases within the U.S.

These opposing pressures in the past six years have touched off a searching reappraisal of U.S. economic policy.

Our economists and policy-makers have, perforce, broken out of their previous insularity in dealing with domestic policies for economic stability and growth. We have moved from a pre-1957 situation in which we could largely act as if we were in a *closed* economy to one in which we must act, in an *open* economy.

This tug-of-war between internal and external requirements of policy has generated an intensive, and surprisingly successful, search for economic policies that could serve both masters at once. The result has been a significant shift in economic philosophy, policy, and practice. Let me illustrate.

One shift came early in the Administration in the form of the “nudge” or “twist” in monetary policy. This policy has pushed up the rates on short-term, fluid funds that might otherwise run out of the country in response to higher rates abroad – and has thus cut down our balance-of-payments

deficit. At the same time, it has successfully sought to hold down the cost of funds that flow into long-term investment in housing, public capital, and plant and equipment – and has thus facilitated economic expansion. By close Treasury-Federal Reserve cooperation, this new two-way approach to monetary policy has achieved results initially scoffed at by the disbelievers.

An even more basic policy emphasis is on the stepping up of productivity, “the great reconciler”. Increases in productivity – in output per unit of input, which of course translates into lower costs – are the royal road not merely to faster domestic growth but to a stronger position in world markets. As we install modern cost-cutting machines, equipment and plant; as we speed the advance of technology, and of research and development; as we invest more in human brainpower through education and training – we serve to reconcile domestic expansion with external balance.

Thus a growing consensus has emerged on the need for more investment in both human and material resources. Yet, actual outlays for business fixed investment have dropped from 10-11 per cent of GNP in the early post-war period to only 9 per cent recently. The policy response has been a dramatic rise in the priority of investment stimulation as an objective of tax policy. These considerations led a Democratic Administration to provide special tax incentives for investment in 1962 and an added cut in corporate tax liabilities this year.

The tax cut itself represents a new breakthrough in economic attitudes, on two main scores. First, with respect to deficits, it represents a recognition –

- that the persistent budget deficits of recent years have been the *result* of economic slack and slow growth,

brought on in part by the hobbling effect of excessive Federal taxes;

- that deficits themselves have no economic motive power; rather, it is tax cuts (or expenditure increases) which create more jobs, income, and profits;
- that cutting taxes can so stimulate the economy as to offer the best road back to budgetary surpluses in a balanced economy.

Second, with respect to balance-of-payments effects of tax cuts, it is now recognized that rising imports in response to higher incomes will probably be more than offset by:

- productivity gains that will make costs and prices of U.S. exports more competitive;
- improvements on capital account as returns rise on capital invested at home.

Indeed, these considerations led our colleagues in OECD repeatedly to urge the United States to adopt more expansionary budget policies in the face of deficits both in our domestic budget and in our external accounts.

The Price-Wage Problem and Monetary Policy

This is not to say that the tax cut is without its critics or that the economy in 1964 is without its problems. Recently, a rather vocal minority – in part consisting of critics who earlier said the tax cut would be ineffective – has charged that the tax cut will overheat the economy and thus lead to inflation, boom, and bust.

In part, this fear grows out of the impressive advances the economy has already made:

- a rise of \$100 billion in GNP, 16 per cent in real terms, in less than three years;

- an increase of $2\frac{3}{4}$ million in employment over the same period;
- an increase of 23 per cent in industrial production; a better “tone” in U.S. business today.

But this view overlooks several compelling counterpoints:

- Even with the dramatic rise in GNP, our total output still falls \$30 billion short of our readily available potential (at a 4 per cent unemployment level).
- Unemployment stands at 5.6 per cent of the labour force – the cold fact is that in the fourth quarter of 1963, unemployment was slightly higher than 1962 in spite of a spirited advance in GNP.
- Industrial production has been on a plateau for six months, and the average operating rate in manufacturing holds at 85-87 per cent against a preferred operating rate of 92 per cent.
- The better “tone” of business reflects in good part (a) the expected tax cut and (b) the reassurance of President Johnson’s firm and understanding leadership.

It is clear, then, that ample capacity exists to meet a new wave of tax-induced demand. And it is worth remembering that this wave will be a gradual swell, not a tidal burst. So it is most unlikely that rising market demand will generate inflationary pressures in 1964. But economic expansion does increase the temptations for unions or managements to take wage and price actions that might reactivate the price-wage spiral that has been dormant for the last six years.

Like almost every other advanced country except Canada and Switzerland, the United States has attempted to avoid or curb the wage-price spiral through the development of an “incomes policy”—in our case called “guide-

posts" for noninflationary wage and price behaviour. In their present explicit form these guideposts were first presented in the 1962 *Report of the Council of Economic Advisers*, and have been restated in both our 1963 and 1964 Reports. Under the urging of the guideposts and faced with generally slack markets for goods and labour, wage costs and prices in the United States have been remarkably steady in recent years. We used to say steadier than in any other major industrial country except Canada. Now we do not even make that exception.

Our price stability has both depended upon and been consistent with wage rate advances — advances that in general, and on the average, have not exceeded the rise in labour productivity in recent years. Business has increasingly seen that — if it avoids unnecessary price advances — labour can and will moderate its wage demands as it finds that it need not struggle to keep ahead of a rising cost of living. Labour has increasingly seen that — if it avoids wage advances in excess of the average rise in productivity — business can and will pursue a policy of generally stable prices, for unit labour costs will tend to remain stable.

If, unexpectedly, price stability began to be eroded by irresponsible wage or price behaviour, strong pressures would surely develop for monetary policy to move toward higher interest rates and reduced availability of credit. But tighter monetary policy could not police inflation without arresting production and employment.

It would clearly be a major loss if we were forced to give up some of the expansionary benefits of our tax cut in the year ahead in order to put indirect pressure on irresponsible price and wage makers. This is why President Johnson recently:

- (1) Underscored the wage-price guideposts, renewing his appeal to the parties – and to the public – to recognize their vital contribution to our healthy economic expansion.
- (2) Stressed the companion importance of maintaining monetary conditions that will be conducive to expansion.

Our high stake in price stability derives not only from domestic considerations. Like Canada, the United States has a recent history of balance-of-payments difficulties. We have made heartening progress on this front since mid-1963, largely through halting the excessive outflow of U.S. portfolio and short-term capital. A less-noticed development of even greater long-run significance has been the slow but steady growth of our current export balance, facilitated by a reduction of our relative price level vis-a-vis Europe.

And the power of relatively minor shifts in price relationships to alter the balance of trade has once again recently been demonstrated by the effects of your own modest devaluation. Since the United States, as a reserve-currency country, will not and cannot consider devaluation, the key importance of improving our cost and price position is evident.

Canadian-U.S. Economic Relations

Although Canadian-American economic relations are not my subject today, let me take a moment to say

- that this is an enormously important subject for both countries;
- that it is too often neglected with resulting misunderstanding and irritation;

- and that we all can be glad, therefore, that new efforts are afoot to give it joint and thoughtful study.

The dominant characteristics of the economic relations between us, of course – the characteristics overwhelmingly apparent to any dispassionate third party viewing us from afar – are their strength and harmony.

We are far and away each other's best customers. Our political-economic systems are highly similar. We share common technologies, forms of business organization, and living standards. Our people, our commodities, our capital all move back and forth over our 3,000 miles of unfortified boundary with a degree of freedom that knows almost no parallel. And our economic destinies are tied together in the long run as well as the short.

All the same, the fabric of this close, mutually beneficial, largely harmonious economic relationship is fraught with paradoxes:

- There is the basic paradox, for example, that the economic grain of the North American continent tends to run North and South, while its political grain runs East and West.
- There are those paradoxes that may be inherent in the juxtaposition of two similar nations with populations of such unequal size. For instance, some of your countrymen in their strong and natural concern to preserve their national identity have suspected mine of take-over designs on Canada – whereas, in fact, our greater sin may be that of inattention and inadvertence growing out of a sense of security and close friendship.
- There is a paradox that while economic isolation from the other would be disastrous for either of our countries, further economic integration is viewed with suspicion

by strong and persuasive groups on both sides of the border.

- There is a paradox that Canada apparently wants to maintain a strong continuing inflow of U.S. capital, but would prefer to avoid some of its typical consequences.
- That is, you would prefer to reduce American ownership of Canadian enterprise and to diminish the inflow of net imports that ordinarily accompanies a net inflow of capital.

In this connection, I cannot but lament the announced 20 per cent withholding rate on dividends from corporations with less than 25 per cent Canadian ownership. It hardly seems consistent with the spirit of our relationship to change the rules of the game, *ex post*, on U.S. equity investments in Canada. And I look with sorrow, rather than anger, at the chain reaction such a move might touch off. The paradox and the objective underlying it are understandable, but the measure itself is not.

This list of paradoxical differences in our mostly robust Canadian-American economic relations could be greatly enlarged. It could be made more specific. And in the eyes of the hypothetical, dispassionate third party I mentioned earlier, it would include some items where adjustments in Canadian thinking would seem to be in order, some items concerning which American rethinking seems to be most needed, and a number of instances in which both of us need to do some accommodating.

The point, however, is that both countries recognize the tensions that sometimes arise between us as minor, compared with the overwhelming benefits we draw from our economic relationship. And we both are determined to adjust these minor tensions sensibly and amicably – and, of course, to do it ourselves, not at the behest of any third

party. It is for these reasons that we can all be gratified at the new efforts under way to submit our economic relations to joint and careful examination.

Bilateral discussions of economic issues often have been usefully pursued in the past, of course – especially by business, labour, and other private groups. Moreover, like the other U.S. members of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, I greatly prize our frank and searching periodic discussions of economic conditions and policies.

But at the government-to-government level, there has been comparatively little recent consideration of the underlying principles, purposes, and basic interests that should guide our economic relationship. Hence, the joint Working Group set up by the Prime Minister and the President last month to study these matters is both timely and promising. For it can spotlight anew the many principles and interests that unite us and the very few that divide us.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Arthur J. Langley, President of The Empire Club of Canada.

FEBRUARY 20,

A Great Economic Opportunity

AN ADDRESS BY **Lynn A. Townsend**
PRESIDENT
CHRYSLER CORPORATION OF AMERICA

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

A background of banking and chartered accountancy, coupled with a B.A. and a Master of Business Administration degree from the University of Michigan, help to explain, in part, the qualifications that have contributed so much to our guest's success in the Presidency of Chrysler. Only forty-four years of age now, he left the firm of Touche, Ross, Bailey and Smart, where he had been a partner, joining Chrysler in 1957 as Comptroller. Subsequent promotions to Vice-President International Operations, and Administrative Vice-President of the Corporation, culminated in his election as President in July 1961. Those best qualified to know would add to the formal qualifications I have listed — drive, imagination and organizational skill of a high order. This navy veteran is very active in a remarkable number of associations and community activities, all of which benefit greatly from his manifold talents and proven energy. His company, in this past year, has achieved most impressive successes in the automotive industry and it is therefore a genuine pleasure to have the

opportunity to meet with the dynamic leader of this organization, and I proudly present to you Mr. Lynn A. Townsend.

MR. TOWNSEND:

Those of us who live in the Detroit area regard it as a great advantage to be so close to Canada. For me personally, coming over to Toronto is like coming home, because a few years back, when I served as group vice-president for international operations at Chrysler, I spent a great deal of time here in Ontario, as well as in the other provinces. So it is a very special pleasure as well as a great honour for me to be privileged to speak in Toronto at the Empire Club. I hope to make the best possible use of that privilege by presenting for your consideration a few thoughts concerning the great economic opportunity that lies ahead for the people of Canada and the people of the United States.

I am going to assume that there are some things about Canadian-American relations that you and I are quite familiar with, things we can take almost for granted. Before this audience, for example, I hardly need to expand on the old, familiar theme concerning the trust between Canadians and Americans that is symbolized by three thousand miles of unfortified and unguarded border. I don't have to repeat the well-known facts concerning the trade that flows in unparalleled volume both ways across that border. I don't have to comment on the many benefits we share in this part of the world as the result of living on the Great Lakes — which are beyond comparison the world's greatest single fresh-water system and which provide us with a superb means of low-cost transportation right into the industrial heart of the continent.

We also take it for granted that we are good neighbours

— living on opposite sides of the street, perhaps, rather than next door to one another — but still very good neighbours indeed. No one, as far as I can remember, has ever spoken of a good neighbour policy for Canada and the United States, because between such old and such good neighbours there is just no need to use the words.

But there are other things that we may not take quite so much for granted. We don't necessarily accept as axiomatic, for example, the need for gearing our two economies more closely together than they are at the present time. We don't necessarily agree without any argument or qualification that investment in Canadian industries on the part of business concerns in the United States and on the scale of the last two decades is an unqualified blessing for Canada. If we did agree perfectly on our economic goals — we might find it a bit difficult to agree on ways and means of proceeding from here on to make progress toward those goals.

In my opinion, the time will probably never come when Canadians and Americans will agree on everything, and I don't think any of us would really like to see that kind of agreement. We Americans don't even agree among ourselves, as you may have heard, and neither do you. I hope you and we can preserve the differences within our two countries as well as the cultural and political integrity that keeps us distinct from one another in our values and our ways of life. Without those differences, life in this part of the world would certainly be far less interesting than it is.

All this is quite apart from the complex and difficult problems we share right now as economic partners on this continent. With all our differences in approach, I think you and we realize that we owe it to each other to try to work more effectively and more frankly, as partners should, to find better solutions to those problems. Every Canadian businessman I know would probably agree with me, and

many of them have said as much, that you and we just can't expect to pull away forever from the natural magnetic lines of economic attraction that underlie our business relationships.

The businessmen of Canada and the United States are going to be forced by plain, ordinary, good business judgment to find ways of avoiding some of the wasteful duplications in production and distribution that exist at the present time. We are going to be forced by our own common sense and elementary business logic to act in line with what we all recognize — that our two countries form a natural market of magnificent size and potential, a market that should not be broken in two by artificial political barriers. Sooner or later we are going to be forced to realign our operations so as to gain for the people of Canada and the people of the United States, who buy and use our products, more of the benefits of mass production and mass distribution.

I think we all know these things. We know that the course of economic evolution in North America is in the direction of a continental pattern — and when we think together about progress in that direction it is imperative that we be guided by concept. Prosperous as we both are at the present time, the status quo is not good enough for either of us. We aren't either of us measuring up to our full potential — and we both have our problems.

For one thing, both countries are faced with serious deficits in their international payments. These deficits have persisted over a considerable period, and on both sides of the border we are concerned about doing something to bring about a consistent balance in our international accounts in the years ahead. Perhaps the most practical thing you and we can do about this problem is to stand side by side in the forthcoming round of negotiations on tariff and trade. We have a common interest in gaining access to the growing

world markets on something like an equal basis with the countries we have both helped so greatly to become strong.

As Mitchell Sharp said so well and so forcefully in Chicago last June, "since the war Canada and the United States have taken the lead in negotiating for the reduction of trade barriers and the expansion of trade on a non-discriminatory multilateral basis. Our objectives remain the same, but they must now be realized in a world in which Europe has re-established its place and instituted regional economic arrangements, a world in which the frustration of agricultural trade has been recognized as a major problem and in which the less developed countries are pressing for new and special measures to meet their trade and development needs."

As we work together to liberalize trade, and as we support one another in making constructive recommendations affecting the general problems of tariffs and trade in the world at large, it is well to remember that certain inhibiting barriers to trade still exist between Canada and the United States. But it is not my purpose to get involved in that thorny subject here today. What I would like to do is to explore one possible way for the businessmen of Canada and the United States to help unleash the combined force of our two inter-related systems of free enterprise. If that can be accomplished we can both move out into the rapidly expanding markets of the world more efficiently and effectively than we can on the present basis. By so doing we will both be in a position to do something practical about those adverse balance of payments situations we have in common.

In making my suggestions, I am going to restrict myself to what I know best — the economics of the automobile business. I will do so in the hope that if these suggestions are useful in making the Canadian-U.S. automobile complex

more efficient and more competitive in world trade, the same approach may be of use in other sectors.

Let me begin by indicating briefly the dimensions of the total world opportunity for the North American automobile industry. In 1963 Canada and the United States built 9,734,911 cars and trucks. Of this total, 9,108,678 were built in the United States and 626,233 in Canada.

Total world production in 1963, according to a preliminary estimate of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, was 20,699,000 cars and trucks. This means that in the past year Canada and the United States together accounted for 47 per cent of world production – whereas ten years ago, in 1953, our two countries accounted for 75 per cent of world production – which in that year was only 10,436,544 vehicles. In other words, our production of motor vehicles here in Canada and the United States has been growing, but world production has been growing at a much faster pace.

In the years immediately ahead, the share of world production accounted for by Canada and the United States will probably continue to decrease. Whether that share will continue indefinitely to decrease will depend in part on what we do together to increase our effectiveness in the design, production, and marketing of motor vehicles.

A conservative estimate would anticipate a combined U.S. and Canadian production by 1970 at 11 million cars and trucks. Though it is much more difficult to estimate production outside of this continent, it appears easily possible that world production outside of Canada and the United States will reach the level of 13 million cars and trucks by 1970. This would mean a world total of motor vehicle production in the neighbourhood of 24 million units by 1970.

The challenge that appears right on the face of these

facts is clear for anyone to read. What they tell us is that the world automobile industry is generating new mass markets everywhere. When mass markets are being created at the present pace, the efficiencies and cost savings resulting from large-scale manufacturing are also being created. To hold our own against the growing efficiency of automotive production in Western Europe, and the cost and price advantages resulting from the economies of scale, we in the automobile industry – in the United States and in Canada – are going to have to make an all-out effort. More particularly, we are going to have to avoid some of the wasteful duplication in the North American automobile industry that up to now has been a luxury we could afford.

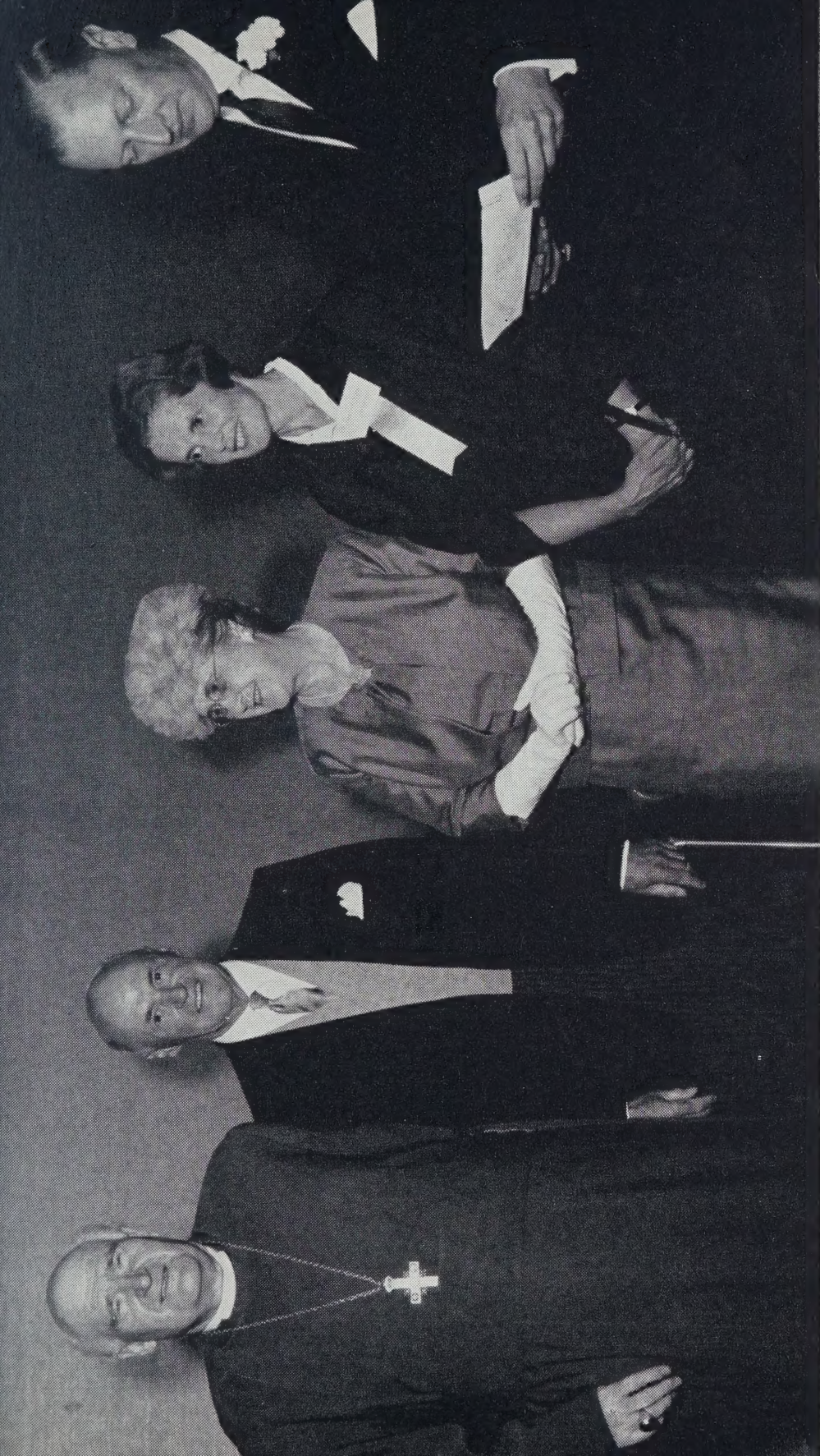
You in Canada were the first to call attention to the inefficiency caused by the parallel production in Canada of car lines and car components already being produced in the United States. Many of you have read the scholarly, thorough, and well informed Royal Commission report on the Canadian automobile industry written by Dean Bladen of the University of Toronto after many months of investigation and published in 1961.

As you know, Dean Bladen began his report by pointing out realistically that Canada's once strong position in the export of motor vehicles had weakened as the result of the development of large-scale automobile industries in Europe and the protection of those industries by tariffs and other trade barriers. He then analyzed in depth and detail the benefits as well as the drawbacks experienced by Canada in being associated with the U.S. automobile industry. As the result of his study of the economics of the industry on both sides of the border and in Europe, he was impressed by the very substantial cost penalties incurred in Canada by the established practice of building cars and components for a limited and protected market. He found that it was

impossible for the Canadian automobile manufacturers to realize anything comparable to the economies of scale enjoyed by their U.S. and European counterparts.

His facts and his logic brought him inevitably and inexorably to the conclusion that if the Canadian automobile companies were ever going to make themselves competitive in costs with the U.S. automobile companies – to say nothing of the European companies – they were going to have to find a way of obtaining a high volume of sales outside of Canada. A start in this direction might be made, he decided, by liberalizing the “Canadian content” provisions of the 1936 tariff. Without going into the complex technical features of his proposal, let me just summarize it by saying that it would tend to give companies outside of Canada duty-free access to the Canadian market in return for increasing the manufacture in Canada of automotive components – whether or not those components were actually used in cars or trucks assembled in Canada.

In making the proposal, Dean Bladen was hoping to encourage not only freer trade in automotive products but was also hoping for a start toward the development in Canada of automotive parts manufacturing on something like the scale that he had found was necessary to be competitive in cost. In other words, if Canada could begin to produce greater quantities of certain automotive components – such as transmissions, engines, frames, springs, batteries, tires, stampings, and the like – and begin to be less concerned with the assembly of full lines of cars, some progress might be made in the direction of achieving optimum volume for the Canadian automotive industry as a whole. Once Canada achieved that volume, she could begin to bid on equal terms for a bigger share of the total North American market for automotive products. In the long run



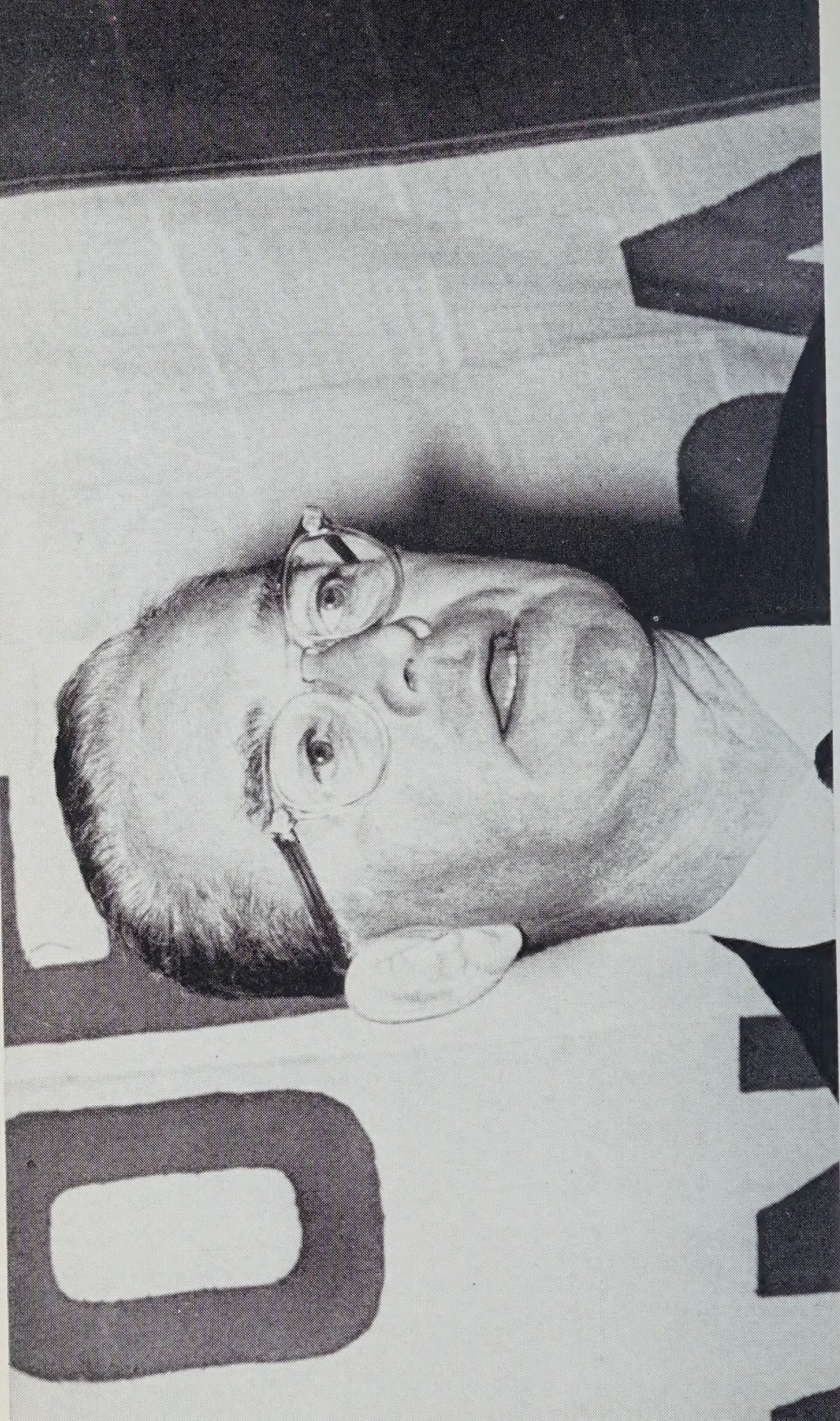
THE MOST REV. AND RT. HON. ARTHUR MICHAEL RAMSEY; HON. EARL ROWE;
MRS. ROWE; MRS. LANGLEY; ARTHUR J. LANGLEY



RT. HON. LESTER B. PEARSON, OCTOBER 10, 1963



HON. LOUIS ROBICHAUD, OCTOBER 1, 1963



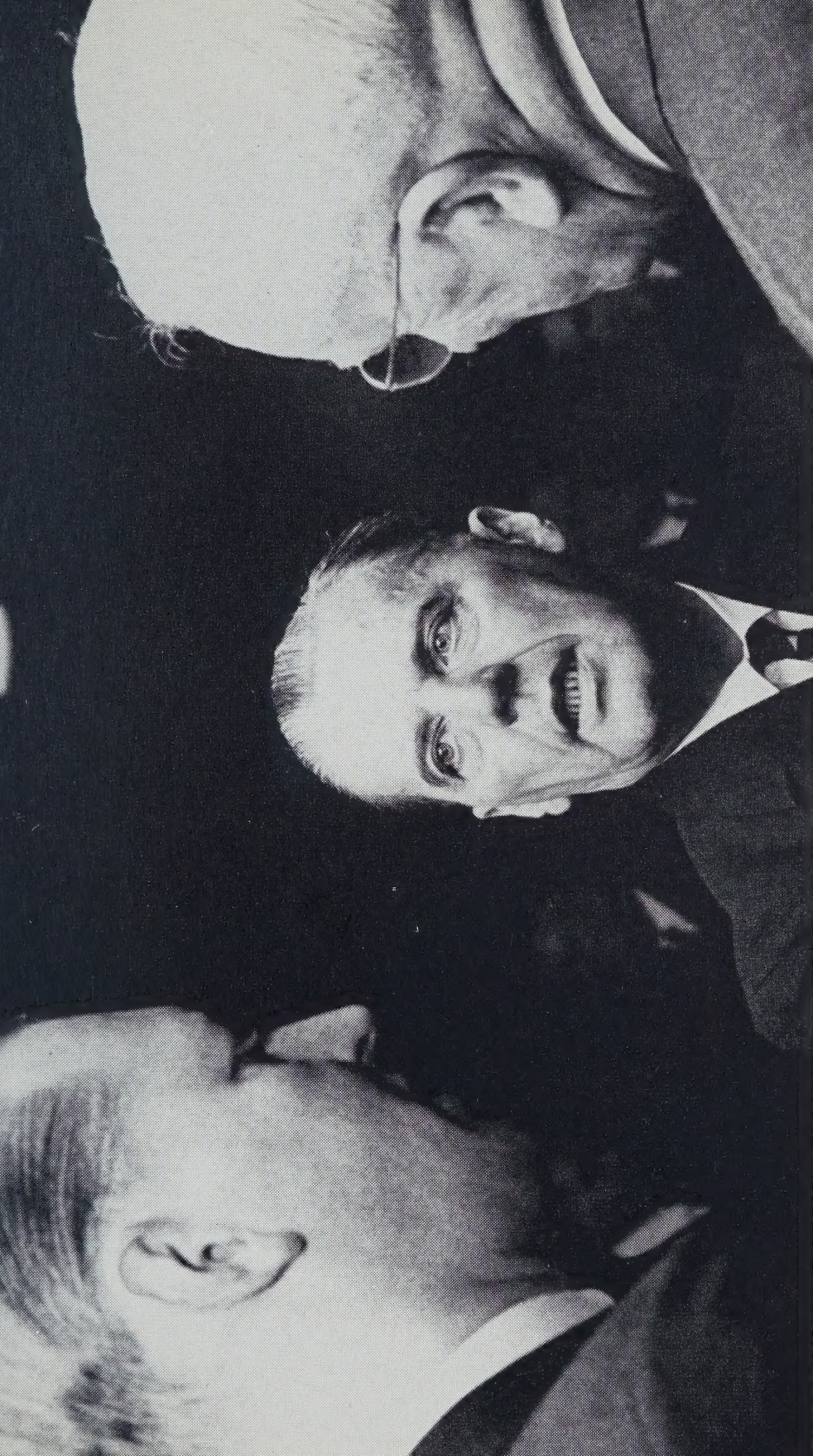
JOHN HAY WHITNEY, DECEMBER 5, 1963



HON. PAUL T. HELLYER, NOVEMBER 28, 1963



PETER NESBITT THOMSON, FEBRUARY 6, 1964



ARTHUR J. LANGLEY; HON. ERIC W. KIERANS; HON. JAMES N. ALLAN, DECEMBER 12, 1963



SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY DINNER, FEBRUARY 11, 1964



RT. HON. LESTER B. PEARSON; RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME;
ARTHUR J. LANGLEY; HON. JOHN T. ROBERTS



DR. Z. S. PHIMISTER; LT. COL. BRUCE J. LEGGE; RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME;
ARTHUR J. LANGLEY



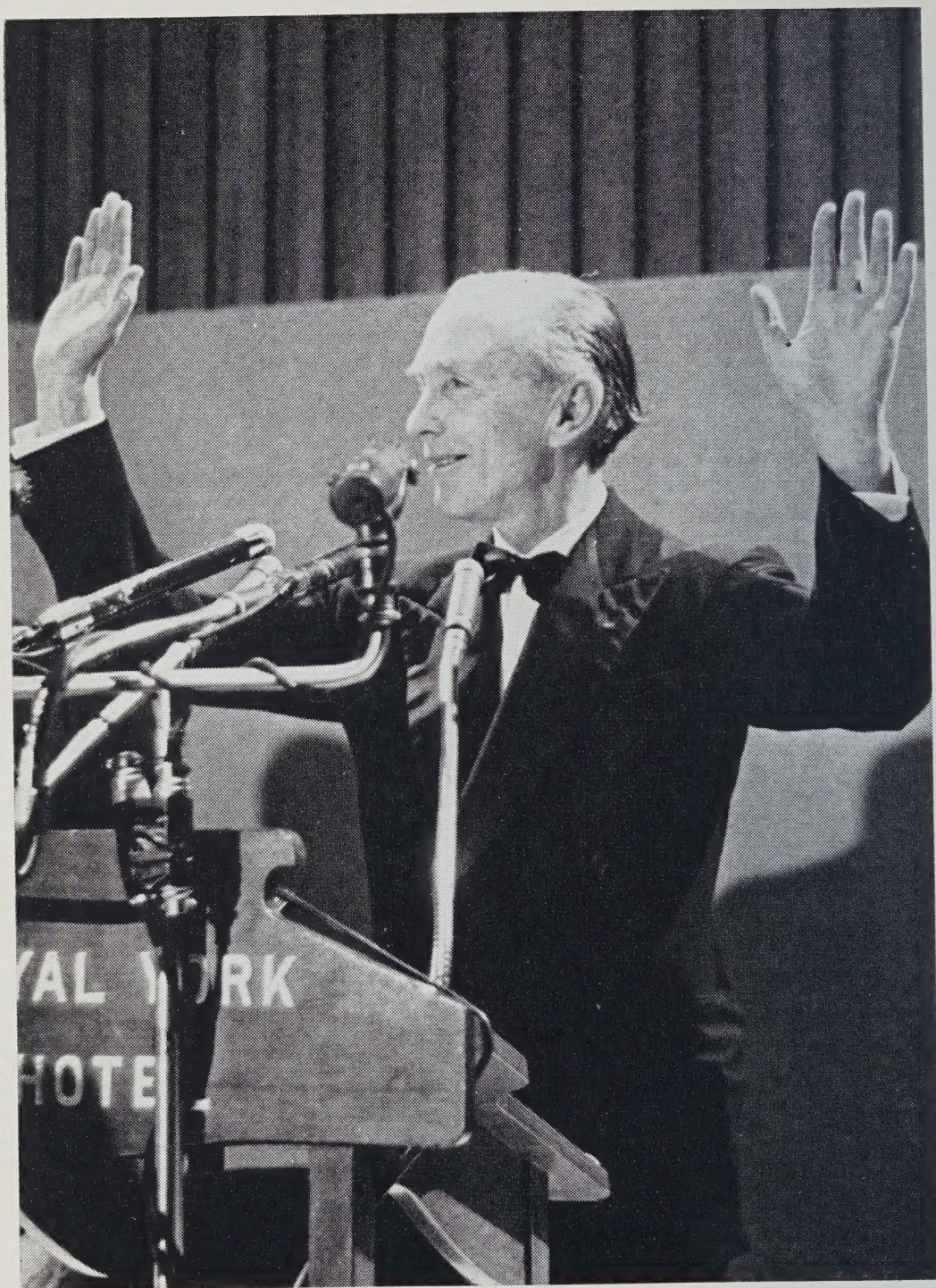
RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME; ARTHUR J. LANGLEY



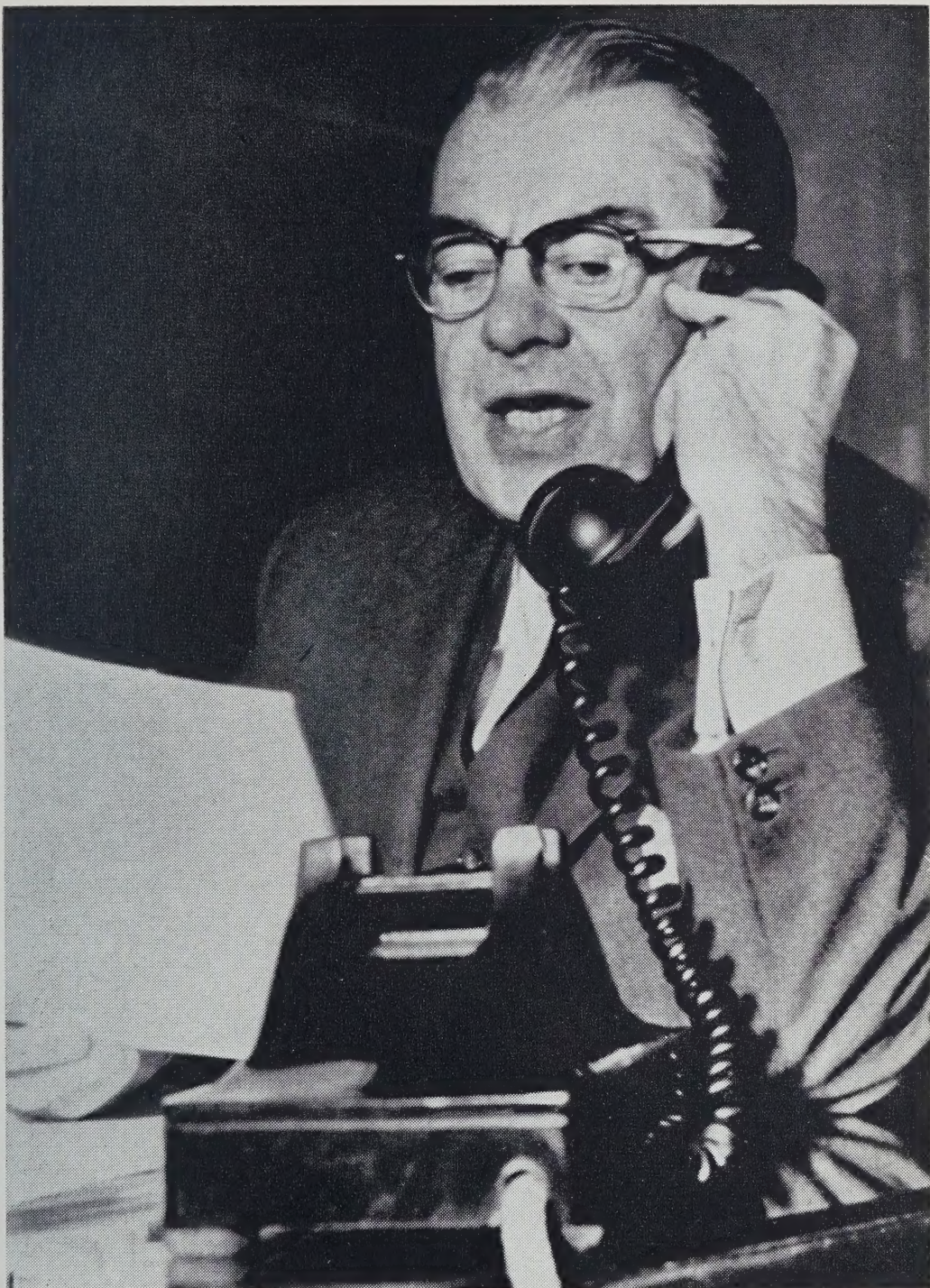
HON. PAUL HELLYER, A DIRECTOR OF THE CLUB, GREETING SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME



HON. JOHN ROBARTS, PREMIER OF ONTARIO, PRESENTING STERLING SILVER CIGAR BOX
TO ARTHUR J. LANGLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE CLUB. FEBRUARY 11, 1964



RT. HON. SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME,
ANNIVERSARY DINNER, FEBRUARY 11, 1964



HON. PAUL MARTIN, APRIL 2, 1964



DAVIDSON DUNTON AND ANDRÉ LAURENDEAU,
APRIL 9, 1964

this specialization of effort would increase Canada's exports and help to balance her international payments.

The most immediate result of the Bladen report was the removal, as he had recommended, of the federal excise tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on passenger cars. This was a progressive move towards encouraging the purchase of cars and widening the automobile market in Canada. I hope we in the United States will find it possible some day to follow your lead and eliminate our own 10 per cent excise tax on cars and trucks.

What happened last October, when your Minister of Industry announced his plan for remitting import duties on motor vehicles and components, was undoubtedly the most important single step taken in many, many years to strengthen the Canadian automobile industry and in turn the entire Canadian economy. Although Mr. Drury made no reference to the Bladen Report when he announced the remission of the duties plan, it seems clear that it is a logical outgrowth of the Bladen recommendations. What the plan holds out as incentive is that to the extent Canadian automobile companies increase their exports – in excess of exports in the year ending in October 1962 – they will be forgiven their import duties on an equivalent value of vehicles and components brought into Canada.

I cannot speak for the other automobile companies, but for Chrysler Corporation I can say that the Drury plan is providing a very strong stimulant to our business imaginations. If, without dislocating our present patterns of supply and production too abruptly and violently, we can begin to bring across the Detroit River from Windsor, for example, a greatly increased volume of automotive parts for assembly into our U.S.-built cars and trucks – and if, in return for this volume of Canadian-built components, we can ship into Canada an equivalent volume of parts and vehicles duty

free, we can begin to realize a substantial saving in a very short time.

In this connection, I would like to make absolutely clear my own belief that the immediate financial benefits realized by any one company as the result of the Drury plan are relatively insignificant compared with the longer-range benefits to the people of the United States and Canada growing out of a freer exchange of goods and services across our border. Any liberation that can be achieved from the constricting limitations of tariffs will help the businessmen of the United States and Canada move toward a more logical integration of production and distribution on this continent. This in turn will mean improved efficiency, more jobs, better values for consumers in both countries, and faster growing markets for our products throughout the world.

I would like to say at this point that I am not arguing for absolute free trade – or for the immediate wiping out of the tariffs between our two countries. That may come in the course of time. But you and I know that protection has had its usefulness to Canada and to the Canadian automobile industry. Now that the decision has been made to exchange somewhat less protection for somewhat greater competitive strength and greater access to foreign markets, great care must be exercised so as not to disrupt existing arrangements too suddenly.

Before the Drury plan was in effect, we at Chrysler were buying automotive components in Canada for our U.S. plants. At the same time, part of the needs of our Canadian plants in Windsor were being supplied by our own and other U.S. sources. In the years ahead, with so many of our facilities being located in the Detroit-Windsor area, we are in an ideal position to move toward an even closer integration of our Canadian-U.S. operations. This should bring many benefits to the people of our two countries.

As a result of the Bladen report and the Drury plan, a start has been made toward what should eventually prove to be a highly rewarding interdependence of the Canadian and U.S. automotive industry. No one can say, of course, that the evolution initiated by these first encouraging moves will be smooth and easy, and entirely free from difficulties. There are bound to be problems of the kind that almost invariably arise from the disturbance of long-established patterns of employment, trade, and investment. But a bold move has been made toward something better and economically sounder than we have had. The job now is to keep the process of evolution in motion.

It may help, as we enter this period of evolution, to have some idea of the goals we would like to move toward. To this end I would like to describe very briefly what the Canadian automotive industry might look like twenty years from now – in the year 1984.

To begin with, the new cars on the streets of Toronto in 1984 will probably be identical in their name plates, styling, and specifications with the cars over on the other side of the lake on the streets of Buffalo. Long gone will be the days when it was considered necessary to build in Canada virtually the full range of models built in the United States.

By 1984 we can hope, with good reason, that assembly plants, parts factories, stamping plants, supply depots, research facilities, and training centres in Canada and the United States will be located not primarily on national lines at all but in a logical economic and geographic relationship to resources, ease of transportation, and markets. By measurements like these, Toronto, Montreal, and Windsor are just as logical locations for a wide range of automotive manufacturing as Detroit and Kenosha and Cleveland.

It is possible that by applying this kind of economic logic, some automobile companies may decide to build in

Canada their entire supply of a few basic components – such as frames, engines, transmissions, springs, and so on. This could mean that somewhere in Canada, and probably in Ontario or Quebec, by 1984 there may be at least one engine plant producing a million engines a year. There may be one or more plants building transmissions at the optimum rate of 500,000 units a year. Sourcing in Canada of these and other components in this kind of volume will mean greater total automotive production and more employment than would be generated by a continuation of older patterns of non-specialized production.

By the same logic, assembly operations may also be located in Canada. In 1984, some assembly plants in such cities as Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Windsor, and Vancouver could be building cars to serve certain sections of the United States as well as sections of Canada. Of course, they would also be building cars for shipment to other parts of the world. It would not be at all surprising to me if in another twenty years something like 10 per cent of total U.S. and Canadian automotive production – including components – will be exported, as compared with only about 3 per cent today.

By 1984 we can expect Canada and the United States to divide the total automotive production of the two countries more nearly in proportion to their population than they do at the present time. Canada's population is now about 10 per cent of the population of the United States – but the value of Canada's automotive production is about 5 per cent of that in the United States. Through the greater efficiency achieved by specialization and increased volume – and through improved access to the markets of the world – there should be no doubt of Canada's ability over the long run to achieve virtual parity with the United States in automobile production.

All of this will take time. It will also take patience and a willingness to look beyond immediate inconveniences and frustrations to eventual benefits. As Dean Bladen says, "Immediate preoccupation with the short-run problems of the industry must not inhibit consideration of some long-run possibilities." Success in moving toward the more rational organization of the automobile industry in our two countries will also require confidence on the part of U.S. automobile men in the consistency of governmental policy in Canada. If they were to become skeptical about something like the Drury plan, for instance, and should begin to look upon it as a short-term expedient, motivated by political considerations, they might be reluctant to source all or even a substantial share of an automobile component in Canada. No automobile company can ever afford to put its complete reliance upon one source without strong confidence in the continuity of supply at a reasonable and stable cost.

What we have in the making is the equivalent of a common market in North America. In its first stages, some years from now, it will probably be limited to the trade of our two countries, but eventually, as Mexico and then other countries in this hemisphere become strong enough to trade on freer terms, the scope of that tariff-free area may expand. We have congratulated ourselves for so long on our unguarded frontier and our unparalleled volume of trade that we may have become somewhat complacent, and insensitive to the need for change. The countries of Western Europe, on the other hand, when it became clear that their economic future was being mortgaged by economic nationalism, began more than a decade ago to take steps to free their borders of tariffs and to make possible for their industries the economies of scale through access to wider markets.

Right now Canada and the United States find themselves at about the same stage in grappling with this new concept

of a continental economy that the six common market countries reached in 1953, when they took the first step towards the Common Market by establishing the European Coal and Steel Community. The important thing is that here in North America we have got hold of a new idea. As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, "Man's mind, once stretched to a new idea, never returns to its former dimensions."

I think all of us, Canadians and Americans alike, were pleased with the spirit of the meeting a few weeks ago in Washington, of Lester Pearson and Lyndon Johnson. The communique issued at that time seemed to promise closer and more effective means of consultation between our governments in the future than in the past. Reaching effective agreement on the kind of economic policy we have been considering today is far more difficult than reaching agreement on the use of the water in the Columbia River, but with enough good will and good sense it can be done.

I was impressed recently by an editorial in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* which, after discussing in a cool and rational way the problems of Canadian economic policy, concluded with these words:

"Let us make conscious decisions about the direction of national policy, recognizing what is involved and facing the consequences boldly. Let us decide if we are in favour of independence or interdependence, economic nationalism or economic integration. And having decided, let us design our policies accordingly and move with determination and decision, instead of drifting and hoping for the best."

From what I know of Canada, I believe the decision will be made, if it hasn't already been made, in favour of moving out boldly towards vigorous and unlimited econo-

mic expansion and a great and satisfying future for the Canadian people. Being as fond of your great country as I am, I couldn't be more pleased.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President J. Palmer Kent.

FEBRUARY 27,
1964

The Economic Consequences of General de Gaulle

AN ADDRESS BY

Sir John Wedgwood

CHAIRMAN AND MANAGING DIRECTOR
JOHN WEDGWOOD AND SONS LIMITED

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Josiah Wedgwood's descendants have included Charles Darwin, the famous biologist; Ralph Vaughan Williams, the brilliant composer and musician, and the great, great, great grandson who is physically a virtual reincarnation of his famous ancestor – our guest of today. No stranger to the Empire Club, Sir John last visited us on April 2, 1959. He is a man who has blended an extensive industrial, political and military background, built on a Cambridge foundation, into a business career worthy of his famous name. Multilingual and widely travelled, he has an insatiable curiosity that knows no bounds, whether it leads him to the top of one of the Alps, or deep on a cave diving expedition – two of his favourite hobbies. It was five years ago that this man of so many talents and such diverse interests gave us a valuable new insight into the problems of Canadian trade and we warmly welcome him back to discuss the fascinating subject – “The Economic Conse-

quences of General de Gaulle". Gentlemen, an old friend, Sir John Wedgwood.

SIR JOHN WEDGWOOD:

On February 6th of this year there took place in the House of Commons in London a day's debate on "Commonwealth Trade and Technical Assistance". During this debate, Mr. Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party and possibly future Prime Minister, made a fifty minute speech, from which the following is an important passage:

"On 26th October, speaking in Wales, I invited the Prime Minister to say clearly whether he would insist on our five safeguards as a condition for further negotiations about entry. So good were the communications between Pwllheli and Kinross that the Prime Minister answered this challenge the same evening. I was grateful to him. I felt that this elegantly worded reply was certainly in the very highest tradition of British pantomime. I will read it now and see whether the House does not agree with me."

Mr. Wilson quoted the Prime Minister as follows:

"The Common Market opens up an enormous single market on our doorstep. And it is in the interests of our progressive industry and our farmers that we should be a part of this market. But we should only go in if the political and economic terms are suitable. When we applied for entry the terms were not suitable and we stayed out. I do not know if circumstances will arise in which we can open the question again, but if we do we shall still demand the right terms for our entry.

Sir Alec (Douglas-Home) added with a smile: 'If Mr.

Wilson's questions are so easy as that I am going to send him a telegram and ask him to come round the by-election meetings with me.'"

Mr. Wilson then continued:

"It is a pity he did not.

That was his view of what happened in Brussels:

'The terms were not suitable and we stayed out.'

Is that what he really thinks? He was Foreign Secretary at the time. Did not they tell him anything? Did not they tell him about General de Gaulle? I had better explain to him. It was not the Government who said 'No' at Brussels. We were all ready to say 'Yes', falling over ourselves, apparently, to say 'Yes'.

The Prime Minister's account is totally different from that of his right hon. Friend's, because the then Prime Minister, the right hon. Member for Bromley (Mr. H. Macmillan), on 11th February 1963, during the inquest into the Brussels breakdown, said this:

'The negotiations did not break down, as they might have done, on a long-drawn-out series of detailed bargaining.

'If the European vision has been obscured it has not been by a minor obstruction on one side or the other. It was brought to an end by a dramatic, if somewhat brutal, stroke of policy. As I said in my broadcast the next day, the end did not come because the discussions were menaced with failure. On the contrary, it was because they threatened to succeed.'

That was the statement of the then Prime Minister.

The then Lord Privy Seal, now President of the Board of Trade and Secretary of State for heaven knows what, said this on the 12th February: 'The Prime Minister said yesterday, and I said in Brussels, that we were on

the point of reaching a conclusion to the negotiations . . . with the intervention of the French Foreign Minister, we came to the end of these negotiations.'

I think that was a pretty fair account of what happened. The Lord Privy Seal was there and he got it about right, but nobody thought of telling the then Foreign Secretary. No; in the dream world that he was living in: 'the terms were not suitable and we stayed out.'"

Later Mr. Wilson added:

"There is a great deal of confusion about where the Government stands on this matter. The right hon. Gentleman, plainly, has evaded every question put to him on this, but he cannot go on evading it.

Conscious that perhaps no one has yet told him what my question was, I will repeat it now, across the Table, 'Will he give a pledge that no Government of which he is the head will consider entry into the Common Market on any terms which would reduce Britain's existing freedom to trade with the Commonwealth?

On behalf of my party, I give that pledge. I put the question to the right hon. Gentleman. The House, and, I believe, the country will expect an answer."

Now what is the meaning of all this? The answer is that Conservative politicians, if returned to power at the next election, would like to start up again negotiations for the U.K. to join the E.E.C. They do not want, however, to say so publicly because they are afraid that many of their supporters do not like the idea and would not vote for them. Just over twelve months ago they were much more frank about their plans. Why this change? The answer is plain. Public opinion has changed. This I attribute to five causes.

1. We were told and led to believe that if Britain did not join Europe, our prosperity would decline and our trade in this vast market would suffer serious damage. This has not happened so far. In fact Britain is more prosperous than ever before. Our exports have increased, especially in Europe.
2. We believed that the six countries of the E.E.C. were more progressive than we, would grow richer much faster and that we would be left out in the cold. In fact this has not happened.
3. We assumed that the E.E.C. countries were solving their political problems and moving towards unity. Largely due to the policies of General de Gaulle, this does not seem to be happening very fast.
4. We were under the impression that if we entered the Common Market we would quickly become the dominant power. This now too seems rather unlikely.
5. The ruthless stroke of the General has been regarded as an insult to the British people, although this is not generally talked about. Argument does not easily cause people to change their minds, insult does. Many erstwhile strong pro-Europeans in Britain now think quite otherwise.

Had it not been for the General's policy, the U.K. would now be a member of the E.E.C. Had this happened, there would probably already have been a general election in Britain, which the Conservative Party would probably have won as a result of their triumphant European victory. In fact the election has been delayed and there is much doubt about its outcome. If in fact the British Labour Party wins the impending election, it will be largely a consequence of General de Gaulle.

The attitude of the British Labour Party towards the

Common Market and Commonwealth is not surprising. Socialist parties throughout the world believe in central planning. The planned economy must be a national economy. In the present state of human political development, people will not accept planning from abroad. The expression, "International Socialist" is a contradiction of terms. National economic planners must insist on the right to control imports and would like to have power to influence exports also.

Socialists have always had to face a dilemma. On the one hand, they believe in security, equality and planning; on the other, in liberty and international fraternity. These two sets of ideas are incompatible. The idea of an economically united Europe has put them squarely on the spot. Until recently the party was disunited on this issue, indeed many Socialists held contradictory views at the same time.

Fifty-six weeks ago, when I still believed that Britain would enter the Common Market, I was waiting with fascination to see what decision would be made. Mr. Wilson and other Labour leaders must be grateful to the General for having solved their problem. He has united the Labour Party behind an anti-Common Market policy. I do not wish to imply that the attitude of British Socialists on this issue is really insincere. It is not.

Twenty-five years ago, the underfed British proletariat was largely disinterested in the Commonwealth which was identified with conservative imperialism. It is quite different today. Millions of British workers and craftsmen, now vastly more prosperous, have, due to increased emigration, brothers, sisters or cousins in the dominions: so that many of them have a real emotional interest in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and in other nations of the Commonwealth. This is immediately apparent to anyone who visits, for instance, working men's clubs anywhere in Britain.

Twenty-five years ago the British middle classes had a passionate, if sometimes vague, belief in our leadership of Commonwealth and a distrust of European foreigners. In recent years this also has changed. Our importance within the Empire has declined. Canada and Australia, for example, are now large independent countries. There has been an enormous development in travel in Europe and a better understanding of Germans, Spaniards, Italians, and even Frenchmen. To the British middle classes the Commonwealth has become less emotionally important and Europe more real and less hostile. (In particular they received a rude shock at the hands of General de Gaulle.) I do not wish to imply that there has been a radical change in opinion but merely that members of the Labour Party and Trades Unions as a whole in Britain now have rather more sensible views of the Commonwealth while the middle classes have become more cosmopolitan and cynical.

In my view, the issue of Britain's entry in the Common Market cannot be revived for many years. If re-elected, the Conservative Party would find little support for re-opening the issue. Even if it turns out that General de Gaulle is mortal and he is called upon to deputize for the Almighty, renewal of negotiations would be blocked from the British side.

What of the future? I am convinced that public opinion in the U.K. is now strongly to favour general tariff reductions. I will give a simple, if egotistical, example of this. I recently wrote a letter to the London *Daily Telegraph*, a serious newspaper with a very large circulation. In this letter I demanded unilateral action to reduce our tariffs to zero over a period of four years, except in cases where the beneficiaries could show that the maintenance of protection would be in the national interest. The editor was kind enough to print this letter at the top of the correspondence

column so presumably he took the proposal seriously. I was looking forward to an interesting, if controversial correspondence. There was not one single reply. No one was prepared to argue with me.

I believe that there is also a strong feeling in the U.S. that the free world must move towards freer trade. It is natural that in Canada and Australia and other nations of the Commonwealth with new and growing industries this view should not be so firmly held. Nevertheless public opinion in Canada and elsewhere will, I believe, be prepared to accept reductions in tariffs in return for equal advantages in overseas markets.

It is easy to believe that Commies are wicked or crazy. People do not realize how bad an impression on world opinion our recent history creates. Prior to 1945 the story of private enterprise was one of long periods of desperate unemployment, continual obstruction of international trade and a series of disastrous wars. For nineteen years only we have been reformed characters and even now we still try to deny one another the benefits of the free exchange of goods and services upon which our whole system is supposed to be based. It is not really surprising that the world is full of Communists.

The success of the Kennedy round would represent philosophical victory of immense importance for the free world. Its propaganda value behind the Iron Curtain would be enormous.

I am afraid that the chief threat to success arrives from the policies of the E.E.C. and of the French Government. The rise of France during the past six years from near anarchy to her present splendid position has been an incomparable benefit to the free world. Chaos in France would have meant the ruin of Western Europe and a triumph for

Russia. France is the linch-pin of European unity. We must, therefore, face her very special problems.

She has a long tradition of international trade. She is rich and self-sufficient yet has a backward agriculture. Her productivity is about half that of Britain. Indeed the whole of continental Western Europe has economic problems which it is not always easy for us to understand but at the same time require special consideration. If we are to overcome these problems and reach an understanding, a generous approach to them is the best assurance of success.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Colonel Robert Hilborn, a Director of the Club.

MARCH 5, 1964

Unrest in French Canada

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable Guy Favreau
MINISTER OF JUSTICE

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Mr. Minister, Distinguished Guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada. Just about a month ago today, our guest of honour was appointed Minister of Justice and Government Leader in the House of Commons, following a career, which to date, has seen this son of Montreal crowd a great deal of activity and achievement into his forty-seven years. The holder of a B.A. and an LL.B. from the University of Montreal, Mr. Favreau was called to the bar in 1940 and practised his profession until 1946. During this period, his very special talents caused him to be called to the service of several Royal Commissions, Senate inquiries and arbitration boards. Among his many activities, he has served as Secretary of the Montreal Bar Association, lectured at the University of Montreal and was a member of the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa from 1953-60. His intimate association with his present department commenced in 1955 with his appointment as Associate Deputy Minister of Justice – which appointment he held until 1960. His political career commenced in April 1963 with his election as the member for

Papineau and his subsequent appointment as Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. Mr. Favreau has rapidly won the respect of members on both sides of the House for his ability, and dedication to his responsibilities, and he has earned our sincere gratitude for stepping into the breach as today's speaker on only one week's notice.

Gentlemen, The Minister of Justice, The Honourable Guy Favreau.

MR. FAVREAU:

It will soon be one hundred years since our forefathers, representing our two founding peoples, agreed in Charlottetown and finally in Quebec, upon the terms of the sacred pact which was to be translated by the British Parliament into the British North America Act. Throughout most of the ninety-seven years since then, Canada has been confronted by – and has survived – crisis after crisis. Yet the one we are going through now is probably deeper in its national significance, and more perturbing in its possibilities, than any in our history. Despite the ominous signs, let me quote what a noted English-speaking Canadian said on this subject here, in Toronto, earlier this year. He said:

“There is the revolution – I do not think this is too strong a word – that is going on in the Province of Quebec. Our French-Canadian friends and partners in Confederation have decided the time has come for them to get in step with the modern world. This means a new approach to education, an insistence upon greater say in economic affairs, a much more active role for the provincial government. Like other minority groups, the people of Quebec are jealous of their rights. They feel they have not been fairly treated. . . . It is in the best interest of

all Canadians . . . that Quebec should move ahead – and move ahead quickly. We should sympathize with the efforts of French Canada to take her rightful place in Confederation. And we should not take offence because we find that some of the manifestations of catching up are irritating or annoying.”

This, I believe, is a lucidly brief answer to the question which recurs when English-speaking Canadians discuss the accelerating nationalism in French Canada: “What does French Canada want?” they ask, or, “What does Quebec want?” The answer I have read was given by my colleague, the Honourable Walter Gordon, Minister of Finance, and I am sure, known personally to most of you.

I cannot attempt today to discuss all the details or to analyze all the factors involved – those details and factors upon which Mr. Gordon’s call for moderation and understanding was based. Apart from the lack of time for such analysis, the causes underlying today’s restlessness, like most human relations, cannot be defined with the clarity of a legal text, or charted with the cold precision of the drafting board. Even man’s most concrete affairs are difficult to express in exact terms.

But aside from personal and individual grievances, French Canadians collectively have expressed at least three basic causes for unrest and dissatisfaction:

1. Whoever’s responsibility it may have been, or is now, French Canadians find that after ninety-seven years in Confederation they have not gained the position, the influence, the recognition nor the benefits that their status as full partners should have brought them.
2. French Canada believes that the contractual provisions established between her and the rest of Canada in 1867,

provisions which guaranteed the use of French as one of Canada's two official languages in affairs of state, in a federal Parliament, in federal courts – as well as in all provincial matters in Quebec – have in effect been ignored to the point of being allowed to lapse. French Canadians complain that there has been a general disregard of the French language as one of this country's official languages – even in dealings between federal institutions and French Canadians.

3. Finally, French Canada finds itself in a position of near economic subservience to Canada's English-speaking majority. Her people feel deeply that the time has come – indeed, that it is their duty – to bring about economic liberation, and its corresponding social equality.

I can assure you, however, that seriously-minded citizens in my province, and by these I mean the honest and realistic people of sound judgment who form the great majority in French Canada, do not for a moment subscribe to the belief that this unhappy state is a result of a deliberate conspiracy on the part of their English-speaking partners in Confederation. Reasonable French Canadians do not accuse English-Speaking Canadians of conspiring either to rob them of their lawful rights or to make them subservient. They recognize that the reasons for Quebec's unfair situation – and I use the word "unfair" with all the objectivity at my command – the reasons are much more complex than conveyed in a mere accusation.

The reasons, the causes – many of them at least – are inherent in the nature of French Canada itself. They have been made more debilitating by the indifference of English Canada to them.

On the one hand, there is no denying that French Canadians have very often failed in the past to exercise their

guaranteed language rights. On the other hand, it is only recently that the general Canadian public has become aware of the fact that, in practice, French Canadians have too frequently been denied their language rights by officious, insensitive, unthinking individuals in places of at least the appearance of authority.

This is changing. Most French Canadians now know that their partners have recently taken significant steps towards assuring the exercise and preservation of French Canadian rights. Throughout the federal civil service and in many Canadian businesses and industries – indeed, especially right here in Toronto – use of the French language more widely than ever before is now encouraged. If I may digress a moment, Mr. Chairman, I would like to repeat another tribute which I have made before to this city: to the constructive contribution being made to objective discussion of the problems we are discussing by the editorial writers and almost all the columnists of the Toronto newspapers. They are in the vanguard of the movement towards that lasting, strong and true Confederation we seek. I have said before that they provide an example of that incisive moderation and impartial common sense so desperately needed in seeking solutions to constitutional problems and the other general problems of French Canada in relation to the rest of Canada.

Returning to the factors which have contributed, historically, to today's problems: to explain the economic inferiority in which French Canadians have found themselves, certain historic and social facts must be recognized. At the very time the pact was made which resulted in the creation of this great new country, Canada, the English-speaking partners – chiefly of Scottish, English and Irish origin – were already in control of finance, business and industry. The French Canadian leaders – the educated –

were then almost exclusively members of a few professions which have since become traditional in Quebec – notaries, lawyers and doctors. For more than three-quarters of a century, Quebec's system contributed to this educational vacuum: it did not provide sufficient incentive, or contain sufficient sophistication, to guide students into professions such as engineering, architecture, and general commerce. Thus, lacking such incentives, Quebec failed to create the essential supply of French Canadians trained and prepared to engage in trade, industry, finance – in those fields which are closer to the actual control or direction of a provincial economy.

For this reason, the forces and trends which have moulded Quebec's economy have, to a very great extent, by-passed French Canadians. Many major enterprises and businesses in Quebec, in those circumstances, came under the control and have remained under the direction of English-speaking Canadians or foreign investors. And for the most part, this controlling element adopted English as the language of communication.

Added to this was the fact that in the vital sixteen years preceding the present Lesage government – 1944 to 1960 – Quebec's educational system was permitted to stagnate still farther – to remain oblivious to the new, modern and dynamic developments in the field of education. Here, then, is another reason for the situation that developed. And its effects were multiplied – for during this same damaging period of educational stagnation, big companies and industries, many of which had their head offices or principal interests outside Quebec, failed to notice – or at least, certainly failed to concern themselves – with the natural and visible frustrations which such a state of affairs was intensifying. Only in very recent years have most of these major interests discovered that French Canadians – their largest

labour force – naturally expect to serve, to receive instructions and generally to be communicated with in their own French language.

There was another failure. Throughout this period, English-speaking Canadians, secure and prosperous in Quebec, failed to recognize any necessity or obligation to prepare French Canadians for key positions in their trade or business. Promotion above a certain level generally went, automatically, to English-speaking employees. It is not surprising that the campaign of the Lesage government during the last provincial election was based – and very successfully so – on the slogan “*Maîtres chez nous*”, Masters in our own house! That movement towards economic liberation, undertaken three years ago by the Lesage government, is based on two fundamental assumptions which I doubt that any of you, gentlemen, would challenge as being either improper or extreme: One is that the people of Quebec should – with equity and justice – regain or gain a measure of control over and benefit from the natural resources within their province. The second is that a totally renewed, modernized and universal system of education in Quebec is essential to this purpose.

Nationalization of the hydro-electric network was a step towards implementing the first principle. Initiation of a wide range of educational reforms is implementing the second. They include free universal secondary education, in many cases up to second year university; emphasis on engineering, industrial and business courses – and their important adjunct, vocational training.

I have dealt with the frustrations arising from a backward educational system and non-Quebec control of business. But it has been the federal civil service, in most sectors and in most areas, which has caused the strongest and deepest-rooted frustration over the years in Quebec. Until

fifteen or twenty years ago, there may have been some justification for the small number of French-speaking Canadians in the senior levels of Canada's Civil Service: there were few French Canadians sufficiently qualified for such work, or, if qualified, prepared to move to Ottawa. This reflected the inferior scope and standards of education in French Canada.

Such rationalization – or justification – could not, however, explain why so few French Canadians had been allowed to fill junior positions – which, in a proper system, would have prepared them for competition and promotion up the ladder. Compounding this has been English Canada's indifference to French-speaking civil service personnel, and to their use of the French language. The almost total absence of French as a tool in daily administration and communication in Canada's capital itself, and the indifference of English-speaking to the use of French even in Quebec, has understandably, I think, created the French Canadian feeling of being strangers in their own home. The compounded effect has been made more serious and dangerous because the federal government, its departments, divisions and agencies, were for decades the principal asset which French Canadians visibly shared with their English-speaking partners. When indifference even in this area resulted in their language being unrecognized and brushed aside, a strong push was given to the reactions which feed the present so-called quiet revolution in Quebec.

I realize that many people here are still amazed at the extent of this reaction. They consider it – very wrongly, I might say – to be exaggerated, sentimental, based on false and emotional pride. It is based on harsh realities and deep frustrations!

May I suggest, briefly, an effective way for English-speaking Canadians to develop a sympathy, if not an em-

pathy, for their French-speaking partners – a way to place heart and mind on the wave length of Quebec feelings? Let them play a little game called “English Canada” – pretending that English Canadians were, and remain, the minority partner in Confederation. Pretend that in 1867, their forefathers entered a pact which, in fact, guaranteed that English would be recognized and used in all federal fields, on an equal footing with the French.

Then consider the reaction when, over many decades, their letters to the federal government were answered in French . . . when, in phoning Ottawa, calls were taken by operators unable to answer in English . . . when, finally fed up, they visited their nation’s capital and found that everyone – civil servants, messengers, elevator boys, waitresses – spoke French only and considered them impudent to expect service or information in other than French. In these circumstances, would our English-speaking Canadians have felt at home in Canada? Wouldn’t they have reacted collectively to the indifference of the French majority and demanded that the use of two official languages, as spelled out in the Federal compact, be respected and applied?

This is the simple request of French Canadians today. I am glad to say that improvements are already visible, and more are under way. All Canada has become aware of the problem. The Prime Minister and the federal government are seeking the corrective measures so desperately needed. I for one am confident that the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism – as well as the measures introducing more general use of French in the Civil Service – will dispel much of the present uneasiness.

Before closing, however, I would like to mention some important things that French Canadians are *not* seeking. They are not seeking imposition of universal bilingualism across Canada; they seek only the restoration – and safe-

guarding – of that bilingualism which never should have disappeared from the administration of Canada's affairs, nor from communication between French and English in the Province of Quebec. They do not seek to revolutionize the Civil Service, to see unilingual personnel who have never become conversant in French, demoted, or refused promotion.

I know that this fear is real among certain civil servants. Let me say to them today that the very justice and true Canadianism which prompted the federal government to implement the bilingualism I have described, will prevent such hardship and injustice. The transition to a broader and more general bilingualism in the Civil Service of Canada should be envisioned with a sense of the fullest reassurance in this respect. I know that our goal cannot be achieved without the full understanding, support and co-operation of all Civil Service personnel.

In summary, the aspirations of French Canada – the conditions on which French Canadians must base their continuing destiny in Confederation – are these: They must be made to know, to feel deep in their hearts, that they are at home in Canada; that Ottawa is as truly their Capital as it is yours; that they are full participants in Canada's political and economic destiny; that their fate no longer depends – or appears to depend – on extraneous forces. Let all of Canada give to French Canada the evidence that all Canadians are truly partners, equal alike in the economic, the commercial, the industrial, the cultural and the political life of our country.

Canada's answers to the questions asked of her will come, like the questions, neither exclusively from the English-speaking nor exclusively French-speaking Canadians. All of us must seek the answers in the goal of Confederation, in our forefathers' reasons for establishing unity

and for maintaining duality. We must meet in the streets, sit at the conference tables, unite in our work, our studies, our homes without prejudice, without fears, without suspicions, without preconceived answers. While affirming our aspirations and our attitudes – whether mutual or divergent – we must replace over-wrought emotionalism with reason and earnest.

We must – all of us – denounce the little men who twist French Canadian aspirations, with racist overtones, into issues which pit our peoples one against the other. We must together expose those who opportunistically incite in new Canadians, fear and unrest over our use of the terms bilingualism and biculturalism. This aspect of what we are discussing – the essential multi-culture of Canada – is a subject worth much longer discussion. As your recent Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, I feel most strongly on this aspect – and most deeply that the divisive tactics being employed to create ambiguities and suspicion are small, mean, hypocritical and dangerous to all Canadians.

May I note in closing, Mr. Chairman, that this Club, the Empire Club of Canada, was, with the Royal Commonwealth Society, founded for a single purpose and with a common aim: the strengthening of the bonds of Unity within the Empire and now the Commonwealth.

I urge you today, as Canadians, to aggressively accept as an essential in your objective, this now more immediate and more proximate challenge: the strengthening of the bonds of unity within our beloved country, Canada. All of us here have common cause – that cause which is characterized by our mutual desire to live together in happiness and prosperity, in a Confederation which is true and rewarding.

If all of you, in your respective circles of influence, accept your responsibility – as I promise to accept mine –

and if all of us prosecute our purpose with the same vigorous enthusiasm demonstrated by the Empire Club in the past – we will, together, see our common cause triumph.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Past President Donald H. Jupp.

MARCH 12, 1964

What Use is the Commonwealth?

AN ADDRESS BY Sir Edwin Leather
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada. We in Canada have a unique tradition of periodically sending Britain bright young men, who rise to prominence there, and from such positions, enhance and improve our mutual relationships and at the same time enrich both nations through their dual yet common loyalties. The names of Beaverbrook, Bennett, and Beverley Baxter come to mind as predecessors of our guest of honour. Hamilton born, Sir Edwin's education took place at Trinity College School and R.M.C., following which he served through the War with the Canadian Army in Europe. Remaining in Britain in 1945, he simultaneously began a business and a parliamentary career – and both successfully. A man of varied interests who is a musician in his own right, he is also the Chairman of the Bath Festival Society and an accomplished and avid pilot. He has served the interests of Canadians – and our veterans – as well as the Commonwealth – in many organizations and capacities. Gentlemen, one of our most successful exports – the Member for North Somerset – Sir Edwin Leather.

SIR EDWIN LEATHER:

I am most grateful for the kind introduction you have given, and honoured by the privilege of addressing your distinguished and historic Club, which, if I remember correctly, is the one not formed in Hamilton. Having been born in Toronto and nurtured in Hamilton I am never quite sure what to call myself – this has presented little difficulty to other people. It seems to be my fate that nearly every time I come to Toronto I make a speech in this hotel on some aspect of international relations. One day I am hoping to make a speech on the relations between Hamilton and Toronto – even the *Star* would not dare to print it!

There was an incident in the career of the great F. E. Smith, first Lord Birkenhead, which I think illustrates the quandary of my position today. You may recall that F. E. Smith was one of the greatest orators who ever appeared at the English Bar, and was almost universally detested by H. M. judges for the contempt with which he treated them. On one occasion when he was summing up a case for the defence, and virtually directing the jury at the same time, the irate judge banged his gavel and rasped out “Mr. Smith, what pray do you think I am here for?” To which F. E. retorted “Far be it for me, My Lord, to pass judgment on the inscrutable ways of Providence!”

Inscrutable or not, here I am. It is your Committee’s fault for having invited me, though they were very careful not to tell me what to talk about.

It has been surreptitiously suggested that the subject you would really like to hear about is how Roy Thomson and I got our titles. It might be amusing to see who took notes! On that vexed subject I will only say that being, I hope, without any undue share of human vanity, I have always gone on the principle that what was good enough

for John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier ought to be good enough for me. You may say that times change — indeed they do but not always for the better. I wonder if all the pundits diagnosing Canada at the moment are really so much wiser than the Fathers of Confederation?

We live, Mr. Chairman, in troublous and trying times. The world is full of horrors and the great thing about our age is that you can now see most of them right at home on television. While reflecting in my library in England some weeks ago on what I might say to you today about the state of world affairs I thought it might be interesting to check just what condition the world was in one hundred years ago. In less than half an hour browsing through books on my shelves I collected the following few choice items:

In March 1864 very nearly the whole of the Western Hemisphere was in arms against itself. Bruce Catton has described 1864 as “the very worst year of the American Civil War . . . the year of the ultimate horror.” From March till November, Grant and Lee were locked in the kind of endless, useless killing that was only repeated at Passchendael and Verdun. Over a million men died. Britain and the United States were on the verge of going to war with each other, and very nearly did. Mexico and more than half the nascent countries of South and Central America were either at war with each other or amongst themselves. Canadians, with our customary more gentlemanly ways were only fighting with words and brickbats; we had a minority government struggling for its life, and a series of violent by-elections, in one of which the City of Toronto alone recorded more than one hundred casualties admitted to hospital. The eighth Parliament of the Province of Canada, sitting at Quebec was squabbling endlessly about, you never guess, separate schools and the appalling relations between the Provinces. Conditions in the country were so bad that

D'Arcy Magee wrote John A. Macdonald promising to join the Sons of Temperance! I am sorry to say that I have been unable to find any Canadian historian who has recorded the results of that singularly grotesque idea. (Perhaps one day Professor Creighton will enlighten us.) In Montreal Wilfrid Laurier was engaged in one of his periodic battles with Monsignor Bourget and barely escaped excommunication.

In Europe, Bismarck was busily building up the appalling military machine which was shortly to make Germany the most feared nation on earth. In Africa the white man had yet scarcely ventured beyond the confines of the harbour installations where Arabs and Africans were only being prevented by force from selling their fellow countrymen into slavery. Ninety-five per cent of Africa's land mass remained, like the teenage girl, virgin and half unexplored.

No matter how you look at 1864 it was a helluva year!

After taking into full account Communism, the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Castro, Hal Banks and Dr. Chaput, there is still a lot to be said for 1964.

*The Commonwealth is what
Canada made it*

May I turn now for a time to take a critical look at the present state of the Commonwealth: that strange evolutionary body from which Canada sprang and had her being, and to which she pays an allegiance made up of an almost incomprehensible combination of loyalty and indifference, enthusiasm and scorn; in their attitude towards which Canadians often appear to be united only by their differences.

Have you ever thought that the modern Commonwealth is, in fact, very much the handiwork of Canadians? There has existed in Britain in this century only a tiny minority

now led from the left by the oldest living Canadian nobleman, who still believe that the Empire of Queen Victoria could and should have been developed with centralized institutions. If it is true, however, and I believe it is, that the modern Commonwealth is a pretty ramshackle affair consisting predominantly of pious hopes, councils, conferences and talks – as my golf pro says of my game “a lot of swing but no hit” – then it must be historically acknowledged that this is largely because Canadian leaders would have it no other way. There was a time when it was fashionable around Toronto to blame the late Mr. Mackenzie King and Cardinal Villeneuve for this state of affairs; and there can be no doubt that Mr. King had a positive genius for putting curves into straight roads. This, however, is to mis-read Canadian history.

It is true, as Mr. Massey records in his *Memoirs*, that the External Affairs Department in the 1920's regarded co-operation with anyone as a confession of inferiority. But the real architect, the man who mapped the road the Commonwealth has trod for the last century, was John A. Macdonald. It is ironic to note, in the context of present Canadian political controversy, that all John A.'s thinking on confederation was based on the absolute assumption that Canada never could be united on a centralized, imperial basis. It is not for me to argue today that Anglo Saxon Canadians might have substituted their own imperialist attitudes for these which were cast off from London, but the thought is worth ruminating on.

It is not difficult to make out a case that the Commonwealth countries today have little in common but history, and the British long since learned that parenthood often seems like nothing but feeding the mouth that bites you! Some of the African members have already gone far down a path which appears to us to lead only to military dictator-

ship. The Republic of South Africa still strangely buoyant, peaceful and prosperous, despite the execration of the rest of the world, has been slung out of the Commonwealth very largely at Canadian insistence. India and Pakistan have been at daggers drawn from the first moment of their independence. In the United Nations about the only single issue on which the Commonwealth countries are united is that the Americans should do more to assist everybody. This is indeed what Canada's outstanding orator, Leonard Brockington, once described as "the discordant symphony of a free society".

Britain's inability to impose common sense in Cyprus, to prevent a bloody revolution in Zanzibar; or to react with power against the taunts and insults of President Nasser, are indeed galling for the British. Washington's frustrations at the hands of Cuba and Panama, the jeering mobs outside American Embassies in Accra, Nicosia, or Phnom Pen are of precisely the same order. We can all find consolation in the wise words of Dr. Johnson, that "a fly may sting a horse and make it wince, but the one remains a noble animal, while the other is but an insect!"

The Other Side of the Story

But if there were no British Commonwealth, and if it were true that it is now valueless and powerless in the world, I wonder how many would like to assert that Zanzibar would today be the only country in East or Central Africa which had fallen to subversion, violence and revolution? How many would have dared to predict that one of the first actions taken by independent African ruled states would have been to invite the British back to maintain law and order? If it were not for Britain's interests in the Far East how strongly could you argue that President Sukarno's psychopathic fumings at Malaysia

would not already have burst into full scale war? Would anyone whose mind is not imprisoned fast in the dungeon of his own prejudice be prepared today to assert without qualification that, if it were not for the infinite patience and statemanship of the British Commonwealth Service, the unhappy people of Cyprus would have already involved Greece and Turkey in all out war; with the disruption of NATO that that would inevitably mean, and the real probability of unlimited Russian military intervention over a wide range of Eastern Europe and the Near East?

We acclaim all this in the name of the Commonwealth and these deeds and policies have been applauded in Ottawa, Canberra, and Delhi. But what part have Ottawa, Canberra and Delhi played in this critical chapter of keeping the peace? Would not a more critical analysis of the situation demonstrate that these were not in fact Commonwealth efforts at all but totally British efforts? I wonder how up-to-date you are in your assessments of Britain. For sheer speed and cold-blooded efficiency I suggest it would be hard to beat the operations of Britain's armed forces these last few months. Many thousands of men and hundreds of millions of dollars worth of strategic equipment have been hurled all over the globe at a few hours' notice, without fuss and upheaval; and without a ripple on Britain's economy or the strength of her world-wide financial institutions. I wonder how many of you fully realize to what an extraordinary extent Britain is today a country almost dominated by youth and vigour—in every field from Cabinet Ministers to Beatles! And whatever they lack it is certainly not virility! It's true we suffer Malcolm Muggeridge, but the Americans survive Lenny Bruce! You may hear some dismal stuff coming out of Britain just now but bear in mind we are on the verge of a general election and our Opposi-

tion has been opposing for a long time. Long may it continue!

But, sir, one of the inevitable results of the traditional Canadian Commonwealth policy is that these world problems must be dealt with almost exclusively by the British. The Commonwealth is a wheel without a rim, all its members have ties of one kind or another with Britain, but very few ties with each other. Is not this possibly a source of weakness to the whole? Is our continued refusal to do more than talk about any kind of central Commonwealth institutions still really based on post-Colonial fears of being dominated by Whitehall? Or is it not perhaps just that it is cheaper to allow Britain to do the dirty work? Amidst all the soul searching which seems to be going on in Canada at present I wonder what real justification there is for this wave of, what looks remarkably like, national self-pity? Agonizing reappraisals may be necessary occasionally but to people living abroad Canada seems at the moment to be almost bent on self-destruction largely because we have only the second highest living standards in the world. Are we perhaps in danger of becoming so mesmerized by our domestic jealousies, our fears that someone else may get more than I'm getting, that no one outside a devoted few in Ottawa even notices the great tide of world events that threaten to engulf us?

The great dominating international fact in the second half of the twentieth century, as my own Prime Minister put it to this Club a month ago, is not even the problem of living with the hydrogen bomb, but the explosive danger of the horizontal division of the world. The southern half, poor, clamouring, over-populated and under-developed; the northern half, on balance, rich, prosperous, and increasing the disparity between itself and the south at a faster rate every year. This danger will become even more acute if the

division is allowed to harden on purely racial lines. Are we certain that racial prejudice is not already the Achilles' heel of Canada?

British leaders, whatever their faults and mistakes, are one of the few bodies of men in the world who not only understand this fact, but have to spend their lives living with it. British initiative persuaded us to set up a Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council which has played a vital part in world trade liberalisation over the last decade; and is at this moment the critical focus of our activities designed to improve trading prospects for ourselves in the so-called Kennedy round at GATT. The British initiative to set up a Commonwealth Economic Development Council to deal specifically with the problems of the Southern hemisphere has found the capitals of the white Commonwealth countries singularly unenthusiastic. Are we determined to prove the Communists are right, that the West really is self-centred and selfish to the point of self-destruction?

I do not for one moment criticize the magnificent contribution which Canada has made in the post-war world; to the evolution of the United Nations; her generous response in the field of economic aid to the under-developed countries; nor the incomparable leadership which she gave to Western Europe in the formation of the Atlantic Alliance on which the ruins of Western Europe have been rebuilt. But when we come to discuss the development of more tangible political initiatives I wonder if in our hearts we can really still base our pride on the fact that our main contribution to the world political argument is to continue to point to our unfortified border and boast that for 150 years Canadians and Americans have not shot at each other — presumably members of the Canadian Seamen's Union do not count?

War has been virtually banished as an instrument of

foreign policy amongst the great powers; for this we must thank the H bomb. Without the capacity to exert power – Britain and Egypt, the United States and Cuba, Russia and Albania – the foundations of rigid national states are being eroded. In the world of trade and commerce the giants are already rapidly losing their national identities. Already an appreciable number of many European and some American Companies employ more foreigners than their own nationals. Those who have to take decisions in international trade and commerce, be they governments or businessmen, find it increasingly impossible to decide on lines only to suit their own countries.

Under the impact of the race for power between the hammer of the United States and the anvil of Russia, Europe is being reforged into some kind of unit which will probably turn out to be quite different from the concept of the Treaty of Rome. Economics are obviously important, but the consequences of the Mediterranean and North European mind being given free rein, unhampered by national attitudes and historic claustrophobia, will have far more dynamic effects. What is most remarkable about General de Gaulle is that he is now the only prominent statesman in the whole of Europe who still thinks in terms of a pre-1939 world.

The American dollar and British sterling systems between them today finance some ninety per cent of world trade, including all Russian trade outside the Iron Curtain. This is not neo-colonialism, nor because of the strength of the United States or Britain. It is because of the stability of their social and political systems; the strength of their banking systems, and the efficiency and integrity of their commodity and money markets. I think it of the utmost importance when I read the President of a great Canadian bank comment in his annual report that the Canadian

economy is in the best position for years "to contribute more actively to vital international programmes". This does not mean just spending money. Even more than cash, what the world desperately needs today is the fullest possible use of all our resources. Even the United States, which at times has appeared to consider that its foreign policy was divinely inspired, and its resources limitless, has been forced to take cognizance of the balance of payments and to give up policies of unlimited commitment.

The Commonwealth in general, and Britain, Canada and the United States in particular, do co-operate over a wide field; but over an even wider field national pride, jealousies and suspicions still operate, and we dissipate our respective strengths in futile competition for national prestige. If God gives us any paramount task at this stage of our history, I believe it is to maximise the use of our economic resources, of our political institutions, of the machinery of international trade, finance and law, as Alec Home put it to you "to organize the world for peace and plenty". Surely one may hope that Canadians will not choose the very moment when larger unities are vital for survival to allow our own national institutions to fall apart out of sheer petty-mindedness. A devastating challenge faces the rich countries of the Western World: sir, I for one still devoutly believe that Canada has the wisdom, the courage, and above all the maturity, to play a worthy part.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by C. Warren Goldring, a Director of the Club.

MARCH 19, 1964

A Northern Ireland Point of View

AN ADDRESS BY Captain the Right Honourable
Terence O'Neill
PRIME MINISTER
OF NORTHERN IRELAND

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Few families in Ireland, or anywhere for that matter, can look back on such an impressive record of leadership and service as can that of our guest of honour. Through the centuries, the pattern has been established to which Terence O'Neill has added much lustre in his brief lifetime. Varied governmental services in the Ministries of Health, Local Government, Home Affairs and Finance, have been coupled with over seventeen years of Parliamentary Service, and culminated in his holding several of these important portfolios himself, prior to his present appointment. The famous Guards Armoured Division of World War II fame – was yet another milestone along our guest's road of dedication – as distinguished service with the Irish Guards testifies. A respecter of tradition, yet an advocate of progress; an Ulster man to the core, yet an enlightened internationalist; this parliamentarian, soldier, public servant and friend of Canada, is most welcome at the Empire Club of Canada. Gentlemen, The Right Honourable, The Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

THE RT. HON. TERENCE O'NEILL:

When the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was conceived, it must have seemed to many an approach more visionary than realistic. True, the great nations of the Western Alliance had used their united strength to secure the triumph of democracy, but there was widespread scepticism as to how such an alliance could survive in the less dramatic but more prolonged period of near-peace. Above all, how could we be sure that the political, economic and military lifeline across three thousand miles of ocean would endure?

Yet the greatest and most significant factor in post-war history has been, I would suggest, the taming of the Atlantic. In an age when communications satellites make us instantaneous spectators of your great events, and when that same Anglo-French co-operation which forged your own nation bids fair to make a mockery of distances in the air – in that age, we can begin to think of the Atlantic as truly an inland sea.

This steady process of geographical assimilation has been a source of strength. Dispute is always more widely publicised than agreement, and when a division occurs within the Western alliance it is an occasion for intensive speculation. We should never forget, however, that the nations of the West have in fact maintained a common front for some twenty years on most major issues. To that fact, and to the generous and far-sighted help which North America offered a prostrate post-War Europe, can be attributed the maintenance of a delicate but vital balance of power in the world.

If the Western Alliance has been one of the main foundations of world peace, I firmly believe that the Commonwealth has been another. We hear much today of “blocs” – the Latin-American bloc, the Communist bloc, the Afro-

Asian bloc. We can be thankful that there is still one bloc in the world which recognizes no qualification for membership other than the desire for friendly co-operation. This bloc brings together Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Australasia, and at its periodic top-level meetings we probably come as near to a useful multilateral summit conference as world circumstances allow. This relationship is not, of course, without its critics. They protest that India, for instance, is not always on the same side of a U.N. vote as Canada and the United Kingdom. But this seems to me to miss the point. Which Asian nation is in a better position to understand the problems of the West – the China of Chou En Lai, sealed-up in Peking; or the India of Nehru, who is in a position to meet and discuss common problems with Pearson and Menzies and Douglas-Home?

Forces of violent change are at work in the world. As we observe the agony of Africa, attempting to shape a modern society from its largely untrained human resources, we ought to respond with an impulse of sympathy, not of superiority. Let us remember that our own free institutions were not won without long travail – that there have been days in Europe and America, as well as in Africa, when brother has risen against brother and men have looked with apprehension into the chasm of chaos. Now, when we look outwards from our comfortable and seemingly secure society, we may be tempted to fortify the citadel of the “haves” against the aspirations of the “have-nots”. That would, in my view, be a dreadful error. We cannot afford to regard as our enemies the underprivileged people of the earth, so numerous, so full of potential, so ultimately irresistible. No; we must rather regard our wealth, our skill, our wisdom, our experience in the West as a trust for world betterment. If we fail now to stretch out the hand of friendship and aid to our struggling brother, he may reach up in desperation

and pull us with him into the morass. It is just as important that we should join our forces for these positive tasks, as it is that we should be allied for military defence.

When Sir Alec Douglas-Home spoke to us in Belfast recently, he expressed his hope that the Soviet Union, impelled by the intransigent facts of China and the bomb, would more and more abandon the Cold War. Such a change of heart would be welcome, but even more positive action may be required if other and more dreadful separations are not to overwhelm us. Led by the United States and Russia, the two most powerful nations in the world today, what new hope might be carried into the dark and hungry places of the earth, where there is now only confusion and despair!

This process of drawing-together may seem to some to be incompatible with the maintenance of our diverse nations and provinces and regions. Are we committed to a process of assimilation which will pass through confederation into complete political and economic union? This is a serious question, and one of which you are particularly conscious in Canada. Although your country occupies an enormous land-mass, your population is dwarfed by that of your great neighbour to the South. Some observers therefore conclude that it is inevitable that your individuality will surely but steadily disappear.

For myself, I think that this is a facile conclusion. The record of our own small people – the Ulsterman or Scotch-Irish – gives a clue to the conditions in which individuality can survive. There are tidy-minded people who look at the map of Ireland and cannot understand why there is a frontier across such a small tract of territory. They fail to understand that the existence of peoples is not governed by considerations of geographical convenience.

I suppose the “tidy” thing, if that were the case, would be to lump the Iberian and Scandinavian Peninsulas into

one! Nor is it governed by language differences; if it were, you would have been absorbed by the United States long ago, and Switzerland would have been parcelled out between France, Italy and Germany.

No – in my view the existence of a people depends alone upon its collective will to survive and to preserve its identity. As long as that will exists, it gives to communal life a meaning it would not otherwise have. Our collective will in Northern Ireland is, has been, and will continue to be to remain a part of the United Kingdom. There are profound historic, political and economic reasons for this. The English and Scottish settlements of the seventeenth century left in Ulster a people who ever afterwards looked eastwards to Edinburgh and London, rather than southwards to Dublin. We have felt instinctively, moreover, that it is our proper destiny to play an active part in the world. The Irish Republic was for a long time profoundly introspective and self-centred, although latterly it has played a useful and honourable role for the United Nations in the Congo. We did not wish, however, to stand aloof in any way during two World Wars. Moreover, it is well to remember that Northern Ireland has been an integral part of the United Kingdom for more than 160 years, and that our present status therefore antedates the foundation of many of the nations which today sit in the United Nations. With such ancient ties to Great Britain, it has been our goal to offer our citizens the standards of life which can only be available to them within one of the great industrialized nations.

Our belief in retaining our individuality has not prevented a widening of our horizons. Indeed, the economic and commercial trends of today have made that inevitable. Most spectacular, perhaps, has been the growth in Northern Ireland of an important international industrial community. Firms from many countries have given added urgency to a

programme of development and diversification. A land which has long been the home of one of the most traditional of all textile industries – the manufacture of linen – has over a period of a few years become one of the leading centres in Europe for the new synthetic fibres – for Rayon and Nylon, Acrilan and Terylene, Polypropylene and Spandex. Attracted by ample labour supply, modest wage rates and a generous and comprehensive programme of financial assistance to new industry, such corporations as Ford, Du Pont and I.T.T. of the U.S.A., Grundig of West Germany, A.K.U. of Holland and Michelin of France have moved into Northern Ireland. The service of our small community now takes our Ministers and officials to New York, Paris and Dusseldorf, as it once took them only to Birmingham or London.

The world is truly widening. NATO installations in Ulster are part of a shield of defence held by many strong hands. Ulster's strategic position, and in particular her commanding situation on the Western Approaches, makes her a vital link in the chain of Western defence. In an age when the main naval threat is poised by the submarine, the Joint Anti-Submarine School at Londonderry, which is used not only by the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force, but also by the navies and air fleets of most of the NATO nations, is a major factor in defence preparedness. We also have in Northern Ireland one of the key communications centres of the alliance. But defence is only one aspect of our internationalism. Our goods are sold in over a hundred countries, and many of our factories are a part of world-wide enterprises. Yet these trends point, in my view, to the need to maintain honourable and distinctive traditions rather than to shed them. We have long been citizens of different nations, yet much of our strength is drawn from the smaller circle of family life. As we move – God willing – towards

something approaching citizenship of the world, we must contrive to draw much of our strength from the communities which shaped us, however small they may be. No race of people on the face of this earth need be any smaller than its aspirations.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by J. H. Corrigan, a Director of the Club.

MARCH 25, 1964

Minutes of A Special Meeting

of the Members of The Empire Club
held in Hall B, Convention Floor,
of the Royal York Hotel.

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

Secretary-Treasurer, John W. Griffin,
acted as Secretary of the meeting.

The President announced that the meeting had been called by him in accordance with Article 13 of the Constitution of the Club for the purpose of considering By-law "A", which was intended to replace the Constitution as printed in The Empire Club Year Book for 1962-63.

The Secretary-Treasurer reported

- (a) that due notice calling the meeting had been given to all members of the Club in accordance with the Constitution of the Club, a copy of the notice addressed to each member having been deposited post paid in the Post Office in Toronto on March 12th, 1964.
 - (b) that there were twenty members in good standing present and
 - (c) that since a quorum, under article 11, was fifteen, the meeting was duly constituted to carry on business.
1. It was moved by John Irwin and seconded by Alexander Stark, Q.C., that the notice calling the meeting (copy of which is attached herewith) be taken as read. Carried.

2. It was moved by D. G. C. Menzel, Q.C., and seconded by the Reverend E. M. Howse that the certificate as to the due mailing of this notice be attached to these Minutes. Carried.
3. The President commented on the purpose of By-law "A", which was to consolidate, simplify, and make more flexible the By-laws under which the Directors of the Club carry on its business. He pointed out that the only major change was an increase in the number of Directors from thirty to forty and that this change was being made to provide a greater number of persons from whom future Committee members and future officers of the Club might be drawn. The President pointed out that By-law "A" had been adopted at a meeting of the Directors held on February 26, 1964, and that it was now presented to the membership for confirmation.
4. Copies of By-law "A" having been circulated for consideration beforehand, it was moved by D. G. C. Menzel, Q.C., and seconded by H. N. R. Jackman that By-law "A" be confirmed without amendment. The motion was unanimously carried on a show of hands.
5. It was suggested by D. G. C. Menzel, Q.C., that the Secretary-Treasurer should note opposite Article VI, Subsection 3, that at least ten days notice of meeting is required for any meeting which is to transact official business as opposed to the usual luncheon meeting to hear a speaker.
6. It was moved by R. L. Armstrong that the thanks of the Club be communicated to Lt. Col. J. H. Corrigan and the members of the Constitution Committee for their excellent work in drawing up By-law "A".
The meeting was adjourned at 4:35 P.M. on the motion of the Reverend E. M. Howse.

By-Law "A"

A By-law relating generally to the organization and the conduct of the affairs of the Club.

BE IT ENACTED by the directors of The Empire Club of Canada as a by-law of the said club as follows:

CONSTITUTION

ORGANIZATION OF THE CLUB AND BRANCHES

ARTICLE I

Name

1. The name of the club shall be The Empire Club of Canada.

Purpose and Object

2. The purpose and object of the club is to promote the interests of Canada and the British Commonwealth by the consideration and discussion of subjects and events relating thereto and by any other means appropriate to the facilities of the club.

Branches

3. Branches of the club may be established with the authority of the board of directors and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the club in Toronto.

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE II

Classes of Members

1. The membership of the club shall consist of:

- (a) Honorary members
- (b) Life members
- (c) Resident members
- (d) Non-resident members
- (e) Corporate members

All members of classes (a), (b), (c) and (d) must be of the full age of eighteen years.

Honorary Members

2. Honorary members may be elected by the unanimous vote of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. They shall be exempt from the payment of fees but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office and their membership shall be terminable at any time by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors.

Life Members

3. Members of the club in good standing (other than corporate members) and other persons regularly proposed may be elected life members by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. Life members shall pay such a fee in one sum as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors.

Resident and Non-Resident Members

4. Resident members are members resident or employed in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and members resident elsewhere who elect to be classed as resident members. Non-resident members are members resident

and employed outside the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto who have not elected to be classed as resident members. Save as provided in Section 5 of this Article candidates for resident and non-resident membership shall be proposed by a member in good standing and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors.

Save as provided in Section 5 of this Article resident and non-resident members shall pay respectively such annual fees as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors. Members elected after the first day of March in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from the date of election until the thirtieth day of September in the following year. No member in arrears for fees after January 1 shall be considered in good standing.

Corporate Members

5. Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a corporate member. Applicants shall be proposed by a member in good standing and the application shall contain the names and positions of the persons nominated by the applicant as its representative resident or non-resident members. The applicant and its nominated representatives shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. A corporate member shall be entitled to nominate such number of its representative resident and/or non-resident members as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors and shall pay such annual fee as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors, provided that such fee shall not be less than the aggregate fees which would have been payable on an individual basis by such

representative members for the year in question. Save as in this section provided no fee shall be payable by or in respect of the representative resident or non-resident members of a corporate member.

DIRECTORS

ARTICLE III

Duties and Powers

1. The affairs of the club shall be managed by a board of directors who may exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the club and are not by the by-laws or by law directed or required to be done by the club at a general meeting of its members.

Number and Quorum

2. The board of directors shall consist of forty members of whom sixteen shall constitute a quorum. The board of directors shall include at least four past presidents of the club, one of whom shall be the immediate past president and three others shall be the three past presidents immediately preceding the immediate past president if they are willing and able to act as directors.

Election of Directors

3. A nominating committee consisting of five members of the board of directors and four other resident members of the club shall be appointed annually by the board of directors at least thirty days prior to the annual meeting and shall prepare a list of nominations for directors for the ensuing year. The chairman or acting chairman of the nominating committee shall report the nominations of that committee to the annual meeting at which the board of directors shall be elected, but nothing

herein shall preclude the nomination of other persons for the office of director at the annual meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of directors necessary, the chairman of the meeting may instruct the Secretary-Treasurer to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the chairman to have been duly elected. No person shall be elected a director unless he is a resident member in good standing and is a Canadian citizen or a British subject.

Meetings of Directors

4. Meetings of the board of directors shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Written notice of such meetings shall be given to each director five days or more before the meeting is to take place, provided that a meeting may be held at any time if all the directors are present or if those absent have waived notice of or otherwise signified their consent to such meeting being held in their absence or have approved or signified their approval in writing to the proceedings taken at the meeting. The board may appoint a day or days in any month or months for regular meetings, at an hour or place to be named, and of such regular meeting, no notice need be given.

Casual Vacancies

5. In the event of any vacancy occurring in the office of director, the remaining directors may fill the vacancy from among the members for the unexpired portion of the term of office of the person whose office is vacant.

OFFICERS

ARTICLE IV

1. The officers shall consist of an Honorary President, an Honorary Vice-President, a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary and a Secretary-Treasurer. The board of directors may from time to time elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem necessary. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be directors of the club but other officers need not be directors. No person other than the Honorary President and the Honorary Vice-President shall be eligible for office unless he is a member in good standing.

Appointment of Officers

2. The board of directors shall meet as soon as convenient after their election for the purpose of appointing the officers of the club for the period ending April 30 in the next year but each officer shall continue in office until his successor is elected.

Casual Vacancies

3. In the event of a vacancy occurring in any office the board of directors may fill the vacancy for the unexpired portion of the term.

Honorary Auditor

4. An Honorary Auditor shall be appointed at each annual meeting. An audited statement of the finances of the club for the fiscal year shall be published annually and a copy shall be sent to each member.

COMMITTEES

ARTICLE V

1. The following standing committees and the chairman of each shall be appointed by the board of directors as soon as convenient after the election of the board:
 - (a) Budget and Finance Committee
 - (b) Speakers Committee
 - (c) Membership Committee
 - (d) Constitution Committee
 - (e) Reception Committee
 - (f) Publicity and Public Relations Committee
 - (g) Year Book Committee
 - (h) Head Table Committee

provided that for any year the board of directors may by resolution elect not to appoint any one or more of such committees.
2. The President or the board of directors may from time to time appoint such other committees as may be deemed expedient.

MEETINGS OF MEMBERS

ARTICLE VI

General Meetings

1. The club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as may from time to time be determined by the board of directors. Special meetings of the club may be called at any time by the President.

Annual Meeting

2. The annual meeting shall be held not later than April

30 in each year. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Secretary-Treasurer.

Notice of Meetings

3. Written notice of all meetings of members shall be given all members of the club before the date on which the meeting is to be held. Such notice shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto. The accidental failure or omission to give notice to any member shall not invalidate the proceedings at any meeting.

Quorum at Meetings

4. Sixteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the club, general, annual or special, and the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

5. No business other than the hearing of the addresses shall be introduced at any meeting of the club by any person other than the chairman of the meeting, unless it has been submitted to the board of directors and received its approval.

FISCAL YEAR

ARTICLE VII

The fiscal year of the club shall end on such day in each year as may be fixed by the board of directors but unless so fixed by the board shall end on April 30th.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE VIII

Subject to the provisions of The Corporation Act this constitution may be amended by the board of directors, but unless in the meantime confirmed by a majority of the members present in person at a meeting of the members duly called for that purpose, any amendment is effective only until the next annual meeting of members unless so confirmed thereat and, in default of such confirmation thereat ceases to have effect at and from that time, and in that case no new amendment of the same or like substance has any effect until confirmed at a meeting of the members.

REPEAL OF CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE IX

The previous constitution of the club and all by-laws relating thereto are hereby repealed.

CONFIRMATION

ARTICLE X

This by-law shall not be effective until it has been confirmed by a majority of the members present in person at a meeting of the members of the club duly called for that purpose.

ENACTED this 26th day of February, 1964.

(Signed) A. J. LANGLEY,
President

(Signed) J. W. GRIFFIN,
Secretary-Treasurer

APRIL 2, 1964

Difficulties of the United Nations in Maintaining Peace

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable Paul Martin
P.C., M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

My Lord, Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada. It was in the year of the Empire Club's birth that Paul Martin was born and began to travel the road which today finds him internationally respected as one of Canada's outstanding diplomats. The University of Toronto, Osgoode Hall, Cambridge and Harvard all helped to mould and channel the talents and energies of the young man. In the League of Nations, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations, NATO, OECD, and other international forums he has gained impressive repute and served his country brilliantly. His parliamentary career as the member for Essex East, which spans almost thirty years, has witnessed dedicated service in the Department of Labour, as Minister of Health and Welfare, and as Secretary of State. Today, as our Secretary of State for External Affairs he bears perhaps the

heaviest and most demanding burdens of his career. Unfortunately, due to the absence of the Prime Minister and the pressures of government business, Mr. Martin is unable to leave Ottawa. Happily, he has graciously agreed to keep his date to meet again with the Empire Club, by speaking to us now from his office in the House of Commons via a radio-telephone hook-up. Gentlemen, with pride and pleasure, I present The Honourable Paul Martin.

MR. MARTIN:

Last Thursday I returned from a brief visit to Geneva where I had an opportunity for further discussions with the Secretary-General and others directly concerned with the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus. I am very glad to take advantage of the warm hospitality of the Empire Club to express some views in relation to this important United Nations venture.

In a thought-provoking lecture on March 24, Mr. Adlai Stevenson suggested that the world had moved beyond the policy of containment to a policy of cease-fire and peaceful change. He called it an era of "limited peace". He asked some penetrating questions about what can and must be done to ensure that the nations pursue the path of peaceful settlement of disputes and situations.

The attitude of states toward war is all important in this regard. Governments and people everywhere must re-examine critically the notion that some wars are justified and that warfare can be limited. The plain fact of contemporary history — which most states see clearly — is that beyond every brushfire lies nuclear conflagration and worldwide devastation. A threat to the peace in any part of the world poses a threat to all nations which none can take lightly.

This stark fact underlines the urgency of strengthening

the sinews of peace, of improving the international means for dealing effectively with the sparks of armed incident and the dangers of unresolved dispute. The United Nations is one means but how effective is it?

The Cyprus situation presents the United Nations and its members with some pressing problems of far-reaching importance and implication. Some of them are fraught with immediate risks to the maintenance of peace. Others hold potential threat for the effective existence of the United Nations in future. Canada has been deeply concerned about these developments – not only in recent weeks but as the underlying dilemma has deepened in the United Nations during the past few years. Our relief about small gains made has not diverted our attention from the large issues which undermine the United Nations capacity to respond to the recurring demands of peace.

The Cyprus situation raised such a demand yet, when the call came for the United Nations to establish a peace force in Cyprus, the response from member governments was on the whole disappointing. Canada was among the first countries to be approached for assistance. We were the first country to commit itself definitely to provide troops. Other nations joined us in this move and I pay warm tribute to Sweden, Finland and Ireland whose contingents are to serve with Canadians in the Cyprus operation. I make special mention of the United Kingdom, which is continuing under the United Nations flag to contribute substantially to the cause of peace in that troubled island.

Why was the response restricted in size and slow in execution? If we examine some of the factors, we may detect some basic causes of weakness and see ways of strengthening the United Nations capacity to meet peace-keeping demands.

At the United Nations, the general attitude toward the

Cyprus crisis was one of hesitation. The Great Powers were divided on the issue – but this was not unusual. A large number of countries appeared indifferent to the deterioration of a situation which threatened to explode into international conflict. A few states wanted to take advantage of the situation for their own mischief-making but most states seemed reluctant to have the United Nations involved at all. There was a marked unwillingness either to provide contingents for the force or to contribute the necessary funds for the operation.

We can take comfort from the fact that the Security Council on March 4 decided to establish a force and appoint a mediator; that, after some delay, five member governments agreed to provide contingents and ten to make contributions to the voluntary fund for financing the operation. The force is now operational under General Gyani and the mediator has taken up his difficult assignment.

Now, I realize that the situation in Cyprus poses a very difficult problem for the United Nations. It will not be easy to arrive at a political solution. It may not be easy to maintain order. There is latent danger in the bitterness and distrust which past violence and bloodshed have engendered in the two communities inhabiting the island. The United Nations mediator and the United Nations policemen on the Cyprus beat will require courage, patience and endurance. They will have to choose their way carefully through the maze of difficulties and dangers.

But in the past the United Nations has not shirked its peace-keeping responsibilities merely because of difficult situations. The Congo operation had its share of complication and risk. What it did not have, and what is needed most in these situations, is the wholehearted support of United Nations members. This means not only political and moral

support but men, materials and money. The United Nations must have adequate resources to perform its tasks.

The method of financing the Cyprus force is significant because, once again, it brings into sharp focus the fundamental issues raised in relation to the financing of these peace-keeping operations. This audience will be aware that for the past few years the United Nations has been teetering on the brink of bankruptcy, because of the heavy burdens assumed in the Middle East and the Congo, but more significantly because a number of member states – including two Great Powers – with full capacity to pay have failed to pay their share of the financial costs. Others have been slow in paying, even when reductions were granted to take into account their relative incapacity to pay.

This is a deplorable situation for an organization established primarily to maintain peace and security. It is especially urgent in view of the growing demands for peace-keeping operations, which have demonstrated their worth. It is moving toward a climax this year because a number of states, including the Soviet bloc, now have accumulated arrears of payment which make them vulnerable to Article 19 of the Charter. It provides for the loss of vote in the General Assembly when arrears amount to two full years. When it next meets, the General Assembly will have to deal with this critical situation, which has far-reaching political and financial implications, unless steps have been taken in the meantime by those in default to liquidate their arrears.

As a consistent and firm supporter of the United Nations, Canada believes that all member states should willingly accept their share of the financial burdens of peace-keeping, just as they all share in the benefits which flow from continuing peace and stability. Our policy in this regard is straightforward. We have responded promptly to requests for military assistance in all theatres of United

Nations peace-keeping. We have paid our assessments in full. We have made voluntary contributions on an *ad hoc* basis to keep the operations afloat. We have made and supported proposals designed to afford an opportunity for negotiated settlement of the financing arrangements.

We are convinced that the principle of collective responsibility is the only sensible basis for financing peace-keeping operations. We believe that Article 19 was intended to provide the sanction for that principle. But recognizing the practical difficulties which have arisen, Canada seeks accommodation – and not confrontation – on these fundamental issues. We shall continue to do so in the United Nations bodies established specifically to deal with these financial problems. We strongly urge the delinquent states to approach such discussions constructively, to join with us in our determination to resolve the financial dilemma and ultimately the political conflict which underlies it.

We also invite other states to consider jointly what can be done to improve the United Nations methods for establishing peace-keeping operations. We are fully aware that standby arrangements within the United Nations framework are not immediately feasible, because of political and practical problems which have priority. But we are equally aware from diplomatic discussions that some members are disturbed about the sad state of United Nations preparedness in this important area of activity. Like Canada, they have made their own arrangements for earmarking national contingents for United Nations service. Canada regards this as a promising and practical approach in the face of prevailing circumstances and one which should be developed through closer consultation among interested states.

There are these practical problems and the underlying political issues, which have proved intractable for a long time – questions of organization, representation and proce-

ture. In particular, the Security Council needs to re-assert its authority for exercising political control in relation to peace-keeping operations. This need goes beyond the control of operations because in essence they may be without lasting benefit unless the actual causes of tension and disturbance can be removed. To exert its proper influence the Council should be enlarged to permit a balanced composition in its membership with equitable representation for all geographical areas. Its functions should be performed fully and perhaps modified to meet the changing situation in the world. These and other constitutional questions beg for answers as the United Nations approaches its twentieth year.

But the practical problems of peace-keeping today cannot wait long. In Cyprus they must be solved pragmatically, as the United Nations finds its footing there and confidence is restored. In the General Assembly – and before that in the Working Group of Twenty-one on United Nations finances – the financial dilemma must be faced squarely and constructively. In the future, whether formally inside the United Nations framework or outside it in the arrangements of interested member states, the methods for training, assembling and directing international military forces must be improved so that they can be deployed on the shortest notice.

These are the formidable challenges of the immediate future. They may loom even larger during the coming summer. But the very size of the problems, their complexity and their significance require that United Nations members of all shades of opinion face their responsibilities in this regard resolutely. They must put aside their short-sighted and debilitating manoeuvring for national, regional and ideological influence. They must demonstrate their determina-

tion to co-operate in keeping the United Nations effective. Our era of limited peace demands no less.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Norman Borins, a Director of the Club.

APRIL 9, 1964

*The Work of the
Royal Commission
on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism*

AN ADDRESS BY Andre Laurendeau
 and
 Davidson Dunton
 CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE ROYAL
 COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM
 AND BICULTURALISM

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley

MR. LANGLEY:

Distinguished Guests and Ladies and Members of the Empire Club of Canada. The Laurendeau-Dunton/Dunton-Laurendeau Commission is notable not only for its composition, or the unique challenges which have been given it, or the significance to Canada of its area of study, but also because of the remarkable unity in the duality of its chairmen. The linking of two such varied, yet impressive sets of talents, is in itself unusual and remarkable, while at the same time being a reassuring earnest that a difficult task has been committed to a leadership team that is united in being devoted to a *single* aim – the best interests of our country. Both men were born in 1912. The President

of Carleton University, we remember best as the youthful Chairman of the CBC, but prior to that, Mr. Dunton had studied at McGill and Cambridge while his confrere was attending the University of Montreal and the Sorbonne. They both began their careers in journalism, with Mr. Dunton becoming Associate Editor of the Montreal *Star* and later Editor of the Montreal *Standard*, while Mr. Laurendeau achieved national recognition as the dynamic Editor-in-Chief of *Le Devoir* and as an author. There is much more to their stories, but not the time to tell it, so I now proudly present to you – Andre Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton.

MR. LAURENDEAU:

At the recent regional meetings of the Commission Mr. Dunton and I have summed up the subject of this inquiry by asking the following question: "These two peoples, the English-speaking and the French-speaking, can they continue to live together? Do they want to? . . . and under what new conditions?"

We have tried to sum up in this way the impressions and facts that struck us during our first trips to the ten Canadian provinces, from mid-January to mid-March. The situation that became apparent reinforced the feeling that we already had of an urgency in Canada, and which we believed we had to state in very clear terms. Needless to say I am expressing Mr. Dunton's views as well as my own here.

The facts are not new. We are faced with a crisis that is focussed in Quebec, but which has numerous secondary centres. The problem of minorities exists almost everywhere in Canada. It takes various forms, for example, what are called the "ethnic groups", the French-speaking minorities in most of the nine provinces outside Quebec, and the

English-speaking minority in Quebec. Almost everywhere we went then, this problem of the minorities appeared to us to be a reality. The crisis has been emphasized all the more by the provincialism that is very strong in all parts of Canada. There is a tendency to see the questions first from the provincial point of view, and to believe them solved when a certain equilibrium has been achieved within a province. If that attitude prevailed, Canada could fall apart without anyone feeling directly responsible.

The situation is complicated by two factors: a) first of all, the extreme difficulties of communication from one province to another and especially from one culture to another. It is practically a law of contemporary journalism that bad news travels faster and farther than other kinds. The result is that the information often tends to be superficial, tendentious and incomplete, in the majority of cases, though doubt is not cast on the reporter's good faith. b) Furthermore, as this is an area where emotions are always present and strong, the reader or the listener must consent to make a conscious effort if he wishes to understand, let alone even to listen to what is being said to him. Thus, the real divergencies that exist to begin with are aggravated and made worse by this deep-seated inattention. A dialogue is difficult under these conditions. But it remains necessary if we want the country – though not necessarily the present system – to continue to exist.

It is still more evident to us that the central crisis between English and French Canada is acute (French Canada almost always being represented or symbolized by Quebec). The problem can be expressed in terms of maximum and minimum: will the maximum of what English Canada is ready to accept meet the minimum of what French Canada today feels to be a necessity for existence? Here, the question is always asked, "What does French Canada think and

want, and who is able to speak on its behalf?" The reply can be another question, "What does English Canada think and want, and who is able to speak on its behalf?"

It is not possible yet to answer these two questions. We are not dealing with two political parties, but with two societies that are both complex and divided. It is certain, for example, that Quebec expresses contradictory views, and that Quebec is not all of French Canada. It is even more evident that English Canada which is geographically scattered, has divergent traditions and interests, to the point where some people question the very validity of the expression, "English Canada". As for the easy and consoling assertion that "We are all Canadians", it resolves nothing and carries with it, we believe, many illusions. For if it is unquestionable that we are all Canadians, it is no less evident that we are such through a language and a culture, which takes us back, inescapably, to the fact of Canadian duality.

The preceding question (What do English Canada and French Canada want?) is itself ambiguous. It must be made more precise by asking "What do they think about what areas? — the constitution? the rights of the two official languages? the role played by the two national groups in all spheres, and notably the economic?" These are the principal lines of our inquiry, which are even more complicated by other concerns such as the following — what is the situation for Canadians of non-British, non-French origin? What is the situation of the Acadians in the Maritimes? of the Franco-Ontarians and of the English-speaking in Quebec?

Stop and think about it: Is this not a question of the very conditions of the country's existence?

We have not been charged to restore this worsening situation. A crisis of such depth and of such dimensions cannot be resolved by a Royal Commission. The solution or

the failure will be found at the political level. What we have been asked to do is to clarify the elements of the crisis and to make recommendations about what might be a new *modus vivendi*. We have two instruments at our disposal to help us to arrive at such recommendations: the opinions of Canadians themselves as expressed at the regional meetings and as crystallized in formal briefs; the studies of our researchers who will attempt to get beyond the prejudices, appearances and approximations that we hear so often they satisfy us. It is therefore of prime importance that specialists collaborate with us, and that Canadians express themselves in great numbers and with great clarity.

It could be that at the end of this meeting certain of you will feel like saying: "If those damn French would speak English like everybody else the problem would be solved." If we were speaking to a French Club in Montreal, some of the audience would no doubt say "Those damn English have made trouble for us for two centuries. Let's organize our own way of doing things by ourselves." But French-speaking and English-speaking people do live in Canada, and will do so as long as the country exists. And I must add something that is much more essential – that in my opinion, there will be a Canada as long as there are English-speaking and French-speaking people.

Some others will conclude perhaps, along with *Time Magazine*, that this inquiry comes too late for French Canada and too early for English Canada. This illustrates the major difficulty for the inquiry: that from one end of Canada to the other we are not living at the same hour. People in Toronto will think, "That Commission is made up of francophones and francophiles" (francophone meaning French-speaking), whereas in Montreal others will say "That Commission is an English and federal trick to lull us

and then take us over." So run the conversations, which is normal since we live in a free country.

But there is a real question and it is: *Will this country still exist tomorrow, and how?*

MR. DUNTON:

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism – quite a mouthful, in either English or French! Our official name sounds rather strange; but we are different in many ways, other than in name, from other Royal Commissions of the past and present.

For example, like no other Royal Commission I have ever heard of, we have two Chairmen. This may appear, and indeed could be, an unwieldy arrangement. In practice we find that in view of the subjects we have to deal with, it has many advantages. Mr. Laurendeau and I come from quite different backgrounds, but we find we are able to agree on many things. We are able to work in accord in trying to define the problems before the Commission and to decide on ways of looking for the answers. Here, today, as within the Commission, there is really one voice of "la présidence" – a useful word for the joint chairmanship. The words of each of us are said on behalf of both.

The Commission is different too – in the large number of its members – ten in all; and in the fact that it has two joint secretaries. We are also different from almost any public body that I know of in Canada, in that all these can understand and make themselves understood in both English and French. The result is a group that can work easily and economically in Canada's two official Federal languages. Each of us, of course, finds that specially on difficult matters he can express himself most effectively in the one language that is most natural to him. In practice, Commission discussions switch constantly from English to French,

with everything said being understood by all, and no one finding himself handicapped. There is no need to have translations made of the voluminous internal papers of the Commission which are prepared in the normal language of the writer; only those going to the public have to be done in two versions.

Our Commission is different, too, in the breadth and depth of its terms of reference. The key passage in the statement of its task is "to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

I should like to comment briefly on our understanding of this mandate – first by pointing out some things we think it does not mean. Moving around the country, Mr. Laurendeau and I, again and again, met questions and comments of this sort: "How is your movement for bilingualism going?"; "You can't make people around here talk French. They have no use for it"; or, in Quebec "Why try to force more English on an area that is almost 100 per cent French-speaking?"

The Commission is not trying to promote anything. So far it is not for or against anything. It is a body set up to inquire, study and make recommendations. At the beginning we took a joint decision to do everything in our power to look at matters before us with the utmost possible objectivity.

As we understand it, the word "bilingualism" in the terms of reference refers more to the country than to individuals. We do not believe it is our job to think up ways of

inducing all English-speaking Canadians to become fluent in French; or to force all French-speaking Canadians to speak English as well. We are working on the assumption that large areas of the country will remain for all practical purposes unilingual in English – and other parts correspondingly unilingual in French. In still other areas, we believe, both languages will continue to be used side by side. But while we are not thinking of ways of forcing a second language on individuals, it does seem clear that a number of people of each society must be conversant with the other language so that there can be easy communication and joint participation in activities of many kinds.

Then there is that awkward word “biculturalism”. I might say in parenthesis that “bilingualism and biculturalism” are words normally used very little inside the Commission. We think it is more important to try to look at facts and come up with concrete suggestions than play with rather vague abstractions. Anyway we do not think of the term “biculturalism” as carrying the idea of many individual Canadians developing hybrid cultures within themselves. We think the term rather implies the co-existence of two main cultures related to the two main languages; with the word “culture” taken in the broad sense, and so including ways of thinking, feeling, living, acting, remembering and organizing. For “culture” one could almost read “people”.

The phrase “equal partnership” in our minds cannot mean equality in magnitude of representation and participation in many spheres. It does seem to us to raise the question of equality of opportunity for the individual to live his life and to develop as a member of one of the two principal culture groups.

Then there is the special matter of Canadians of origins other than British or French. They get special attention as far as we are concerned: first, to the extent that they parti-

cipate in the use of one of the two main languages and in one of the major culture groups; secondly, to the extent that they wish, in addition, to preserve their own heritage of language and special cultural attributes.

Being different from other Royal Commissions and having different kinds of problems, we are going about our work partly in some new ways.

Last fall, we had a preliminary hearing in Ottawa, when over seventy-five organizations and individuals came to give us their views about the interpretation of our terms of reference and how we should go about carrying them out. Our plans have developed partly in the light of views put forward then.

This winter, Mr. Laurendeau and I visited the Premiers of all ten provinces. We thought this necessary because one of the matters we are asked to consider concerns languages and education; and education of course is under provincial jurisdiction. Every provincial government promised us wide co-operation in getting facts about teaching *in* different languages and teaching *of* languages. We took the occasion of these trips to talk informally with a number of people in different parts of the country.

As with other Royal Commissions, we expect much help through briefs from organizations and individuals. Many asked for more time for these than had been originally envisaged. Now we are requesting that all briefs be in by July 1. We shall be able to read them during the summer, so that we shall be ready for the formal hearings of briefs all across the country next fall and winter.

This spring, we are trying something that is quite new for Federal Royal Commissions, as far as I know. This is a series of informal regional meetings from Coast to Coast. To these we are endeavouring to attract a considerable number of people from many different occupations and

backgrounds. They are asked to discuss the problems as they see them – and we listen. In this way, we find we are hearing frank spontaneous views from ordinary Canadians in different situations – and also watching these views develop somewhat as people discuss them among themselves. So far the meetings have been highly successful from the point of view of the Commission. In Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières, London and Sudbury, we have gained vivid, contrasting impressions of the thoughts and feelings of people living under different Canadian conditions.

I think that by the end of June, when we have completed such meetings in areas all the way from Victoria to St. John's, Newfoundland, we shall have very heightened perceptions about the attitudes of different Canadians and realities of the problems facing the country.

A part of our work that we regard as extremely important is research. Some people have wondered whether there is any real research to do in the work before us. (I might say there are usually people who have themselves ready solutions – but solutions that would be rejected out of hand by millions of other Canadians). On many matters we find plenty of people ready to make vague, general statements, but a great dearth of established fact.

What is the real number of people in the Federal Civil Service who speak English and French as first and second languages respectively? How does, or should, an administration operate best when it includes people of different language and cultural backgrounds? To what extent in actual fact are French and English respectively languages of instruction in various parts of Canada? How much and how well are English and French taught as second languages; how much is learned and remembered? How much communication is there between English and French-speaking Canada, and within each group about the other?

What really goes on in commercial and industrial life when people speak different languages; and in large, widespread organizations of many kinds? How do the English and French-speaking people get on in fact when they live side by side? Is there anything wrong and, if so, what? Is there fair participation by different groups in national activities, public and otherwise, and if not so, why not? What are the histories and present positions of various languages and cultural groups in different parts of the country? What are the attitudes of Canadians of different backgrounds to each other? How do other bilingual and multilingual countries meet their problems and what can we learn from them? These are just a few of the many, many questions about which we need information badly to do our job.

I just used the phrase "our job". The Commission, I believe, has an important and enormously difficult task. But the real problems are not just questions for the Commission; they are problems first for you, for all Canadians. The Commission hopes that it will be able to come forward with some useful recommendations. But the great questions before Canada can be solved only by Canadians. Those who can help, I believe, are especially those who can look without prejudice, drop constricting ideas they may have grown up with, and face the facts squarely; those who will make an effort to appreciate the feelings and aspirations of Canadians other than those close to them.

An enormous national effort of objective examination and understanding is needed. We hope all of you will be ready to contribute, each in your own way.

Thanks

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Dr. Harold Cranfield, a Director of the Club.

APRIL 16, 1964

Canada – A Nation or a Satellite

AN ADDRESS BY The Honourable
 Thomas C. Douglas
 MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

CHAIRMAN The Second Vice-President, R. Bredin
 Stapells, Q.C.

MR. STAPELLS:

Distinguished Guests, and fellow members of the Empire Club of Canada.

A Parliamentarian of the stature of “Tommy” Douglas hardly needs an introduction to the Empire Club, quite apart from the fact that we have enjoyed the pleasure of greeting him before.

Our speaker has lived a life full of challenges and highlighted by accomplishments which are a tribute indeed to those qualities of character, and dedication, which have won him the respect of political friends and foes alike.

The distinguished leader of the New Democratic Party might well attribute these qualities to his Scottish heritage, but they were certainly tempered during his upbringing and service on the Canadian prairies while his sense of devotion and duty and high moral principles are undoubtedly a reflection of sincere religious background.

Not yet sixty years of age, the former Premier of Saskatchewan has enriched the Canadian House of Com-

mons with his wisdom, his wit, and his eloquence, and it is indeed a pleasure to introduce to you The Honourable T. C. "Tommy" Douglas, M.P., who will speak to us on the subject – "Canada – A Nation or a Satellite".

MR. DOUGLAS:

How often have we sung "O Canada", we stand on guard for thee", apparently unaware that more and more of Canada has fallen into foreign hands, not by conquest or armed might but by the steady acquisition of our industries and resources by American corporations. Increasingly we are like a man who started out by renting some of the rooms in his attic to his neighbour and now finds that he has rented one room after another until he and his family are living in the basement. Indeed, unless he acts promptly, he will find himself sleeping in the garage while his home is occupied by those who came as paying guests but stayed to become masters in this man's house.

There is no other country in the world where so much of its economy is owned and controlled outside its borders as is the case with Canada. In November, 1962, the *Financial Post* put out a special issue with the streamer headline "Tidal Sellout of Canadian Companies to Foreign Owners Threatens the Survival of Canada". This and many other warnings have been given to the Canadian people but so far we have taken no effective action to retain control of our economy.

It is estimated that nearly 70 per cent of the major segments of our economy are owned or controlled by foreign corporations, mostly in the United States. Outside investors first moved into the extraction industries and gained control of vast quantities of our natural resources. Consequently 80 per cent of the petroleum and natural gas industry is in foreign hands. Sixty-one per cent of the mining and smelt-

ing industry is owned by foreign companies. In fact, 100 per cent of the nickel, iron ore and aluminum industries is owned in the United States.

From the extraction industries foreign investors moved into manufacturing with the result that 59 per cent of our manufacturing is now owned by companies located outside of Canada. Foreign control now extends to 90 per cent of our rubber industry, 55 per cent of the agricultural implement industry, 67 per cent of the electrical apparatus industry, 52 per cent of our chemical industry, 96 per cent of the automobile industry and practically *all* of the aircraft industry.

More recently foreign investors have invaded the fields of insurance and finance. In 1961 alone, nine Canadian fire and casualty insurance firms passed into foreign hands. Canadian controlled companies now write only 22.4 per cent of all the fire and casualty business done in Canada. Of the 375 companies registered to do fire and casualty business in Canada, only 48 companies are controlled by Canadians. Little wonder then that Mr. K. R. McGregor, Federal Superintendent of Insurance, said in his report,

“It is doubtful whether there is any major country in the world other than Canada where such a large proportion of the fire and casualty business is transacted by companies from alien countries.”

Since 1955, the control of seven life insurance companies has gone abroad with the result that of the thirty-six companies registered to write life insurance in Canada, eleven are now foreign-controlled. I need hardly point out what this means in terms of vesting in persons outside Canada the authority to determine what policy will be adopted with reference to the investment of funds which belong to the people of Canada.

The recent purchase of one of our chartered banks by a firm of American bankers may be the first step by foreign investors to enter the field of Canadian banking with all the financial control this would entail.

This take-over of the Canadian economy has been proceeding at an accelerated rate. The *Financial Post* estimated that since 1950 there had been 240 important take-overs of Canadian companies by foreign investors. More than 5,000 companies in Canada are owned abroad and the number is increasing at an alarming rate. Since 1950 foreign groups have paid out \$715 million to acquire control of fifty-one Canadian companies with total assets of more than \$1.5 billion. In just five years foreign investment in Canada has zoomed from \$13.5 billion to over \$23 billion. Foreign capital is always needed to develop a young country but foreign investment in Canada now represents about 60 per cent of our gross national product as compared to the United States where in 1914 it was 15 per cent of their gross national product and has now dwindled to 3 per cent.

In the light of these facts it is not surprising that Mr. Frank S. Capon, Vice-President of Dupont of Canada Ltd., said,

“Canadians are alarmed not only at the present degree of foreign control but also at the speed with which it is increasing. There is not much left to sell.”

A noted Washington economist, Edward M. Bernstein, appearing before the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance, said,

“It is unseemly for Canada to have a level of capital inflow so much higher now that it was in 1950 when the country now is 25 per cent to 30 per cent richer.”

Now, let us readily admit that we have derived some benefit from this tide of foreign investment. It has provided us with access to technical know-how that is unequalled anywhere in the world. At the same time it should be remembered that it has also discouraged the development of our own technology and research to a considerable extent. Foreign investment, by increasing our productivity, has also raised our living standards, but we may be reaching the point of diminishing returns in this field. A large part of our economic expansion has been in the extraction industries which provide relatively few jobs per unit of investment. These raw materials are going in the main to the United States where secondary and tertiary industries provide much greater employment for every dollar of capital invested. In other words, we are exporting jobs when we allow ourselves to be relegated to the role of suppliers of raw materials, fuels and hydro-electric power.

I am not one of those who blame the Americans for the growing foreign control of the Canadian economy. We have no one to blame but ourselves. For years we have taken the path of least resistance. At the turn of the century most of Canada's investment requirements came from Great Britain. This did not constitute any major problem, partly because much of the British investment was in the form of loan capital which did not involve ownership and could easily be paid off from increased production. British equity capital presented no problem because our exports to the United Kingdom have always exceeded our imports from that country. Consequently we were able to maintain our balance of payments with Great Britain.

Our trading relations with the United States, on the other hand, have been quite different. Although our population is about one-tenth that of the United States we have always bought from our southern neighbour a great deal

more than they bought from us. Since the end of World War II we have had an adverse trade balance with the United States of roughly \$600 to \$700 million a year. Instead of facing up to this imbalance of trade we took the easy way out and encouraged the Americans to invest an equivalent amount in Canada in order to equalize our balance of payments. As a consequence of this policy our debt to the United States in the form of interest and dividends has grown to such an extent that we now owe them another \$700 million annually. Last year our exports of wheat to China and the Soviet Union temporarily relieved our balance of payments problem but they have not solved it. For years our balance of payments deficit to the United States has been around one billion dollars a year and a windfall of wheat exports has not materially altered this situation.

Canada is very much like a farmer who meets his obligations each year by mortgaging part of his farm. He may feel that he has solved his problem when in fact he has only postponed and aggravated it. For not only will he run out of land which he can mortgage but each year his interest bill will continue to rise and some day the principal will come due. This generation of Canadians has mortgaged its heritage to meet its current obligations; the next generation will have to pay the piper and the time is drawing dangerously near.

It is comparatively easy to become emotional about this subject and to exaggerate its importance. This is no time for sloppy sentimentality. A degree of foreign investment is essential to the development of any young country. What we must concern ourselves with is the extent of foreign ownership and the serious social and economic problems it can create.

The first and most serious problem is that we are developing in Canada a branch plant economy. Many foreign-

controlled businesses are subsidiaries of large American firms. Often these subsidiaries are set up mainly for the purpose of selling on the Canadian market or to supply the parent company with raw materials. Consequently they are discouraged from making any serious effort to seek out export markets. This deprives Canadians of the income and employment opportunities that entering the larger world markets would provide.

A case in point is the Canadian automobile industry which is almost entirely American-owned. These branch plants were put here to avoid the Canadian tariffs and to supply the Canadian market. There is growing evidence that the parent companies in the United States do not want their Canadian subsidiaries competing with them in world markets. They are encouraged to sell in the Commonwealth in order to benefit from the Commonwealth preferential tariffs but not in markets where the parent companies are operating.

Recently I have been trying to pin down the refusal of the Canadian automobile companies to sell automotive parts for export to Mainland China. There is some evidence that they have referred all such appeals to their parent companies in the United States and the latter have taken the position that the policy of the American government forbids any such transactions. This would seem to indicate that what we have in Canada, insofar as the automobile industry is concerned, is a branch plant economy in which the Canadian subsidiaries are subject to United States policies rather than Canadian.

A second problem sometimes arises in the case of subsidiaries which explore and develop natural resources for export to the parent company. In some cases the parent company also has other subsidiaries producing raw materials in other parts of the world. It sometimes happens that

the parent company seeks to develop its holdings in these areas first with a view to getting the raw materials out "while the getting is good". Meanwhile Canadian enterprises either lie idle or operate below their capacity. This has been particularly true with reference to the Canadian oil industry.

A third problem arises by virtue of the fact that the parent company rather than the Canadian subsidiary is responsible for carrying out the firm's research programme. This tends to aggravate the already retarded state of Canadian technology and to perpetuate our dependence upon the research of the United States.

Equally important is the steady loss of Canadian "brain power" to the United States where most of the technological research is being done. In this era of the scientific revolution a country's development will increasingly depend upon its ability to train and *retain* its best research and technical personnel.

The most serious problem, however, is the maintenance of Canada's political independence. Political power always tends to follow economic power. Whenever any country has a substantial investment in another country it quite naturally becomes concerned about the future safety of that investment. Consequently it concerns itself with the opinions and attitudes of the people, their political parties and the policies they are likely to adopt. Ownership of resources, factories and insurance companies is usually extended to radio and T.V. stations, magazines and periodicals, all designed to influence public opinion in the desired direction.

I am not suggesting that the United States is plotting to take over Canada. One look at our national debt and the condition of our highways would quickly discourage them on that score. But there is the danger of becoming not only an economic satellite of the United States but also of losing our sense of Canadian identity.

Professor Lower wrote a history of Canada called *Colony to Nation*. Ironically enough during the very period when politically we were becoming a nation, economically we were becoming a colony. What we have to ask ourselves is whether economic domination will not lead inevitably to political interference. It is significant that during the last federal election American periodicals were more savage in their attacks and more forthright in their participation than ever before.

Almost unconsciously some of our policies are being decided in Washington. For instance, does anyone doubt for a moment that if the United States recognized Mainland China and voted for her admission to the United Nations that Canada would not quickly follow suit? I am not anti-American. All I am pleading for is a course of action that will preserve Canada's political and economic independence so that we can stand on our own feet and be masters in our own house.

It seems to me that some of those who are trying to weaken the bonds of Confederation might do well to look at this problem of foreign control. They should realize that unless we quickly find a solution to this problem there won't be any Canada in which to enjoy either bilingualism, biculturalism or any of the other earmarks of a Canadian identity.

Let me now turn to what we Canadians can do about the foreign ownership and control of our economy. I don't believe the answer lies in barring foreign investment. We shall need foreign capital in Canada for many years to come. But there is much we can do by way of tax incentives to persuade Canadians to invest more of their savings in equity capital. We should, as much as possible, direct our foreign borrowing into loan capital so that ownership continues to be vested in Canada. But these measures in themselves will

not provide a solution. We must be prepared to take much more imaginative steps and I would like to suggest several proposals for your consideration.

First, I propose the establishment of a Canada Development Fund, one of the purposes of which would be to enable Canadians to play a larger share in the future development and direction of the Canadian economy and at the same time to ensure that this power would be broadly distributed among the people and exercised in their interests. Canada must generate more of its own capital and, if sufficient private capital is not available, then we must provide public capital to do the job.

The capital for such a fund would come from a variety of sources. Some of it could be raised by the competitive offering of bonds and preferred stocks in the open market to individual investors, and these monies would be administered in a manner similar to the Investors Mutual Funds.

An equally important source of capital for the fund would be the financial institutions – other than chartered banks – particularly insurance companies, trust companies, instalment and other finance companies, trustee pension plans and investment companies. These institutions have several billions of dollars in the funds under their control and they tend to invest them in gilt-edged securities in areas of the economy that are already largely in Canadian hands.

I propose that the capital raised through the Canada Development Fund be put to work for a variety of purposes – one of which would be to enable the Canadian government to participate directly in the future development of industrial raw materials. Thus Canadian public capital would in effect compete with foreign private capital in much of our future natural resource development.

However, I do not think we should confine the activities of the Canada Development Fund to the development of

raw materials. A large part of Canada's problem is that we have never produced enough of our own heavy machinery and equipment for the processing of raw materials and the development of secondary industries. I would like to see the Canada Development Fund, either by means of loans to Canadian companies or by direct government participation, extend Canadian ownership of heavy industry and secondary manufacturing.

We should also set up in Canada research and development institutions along the lines of the National Research Council with a view to improving our technology and providing opportunities for Canadian scientists, engineers and technicians.

The Canada Development Fund should have the power to purchase shares in existing foreign enterprises in Canada. If large enough blocks of shares were purchased the Canada Development Fund could claim representation on the boards of directors of some of these firms. The mere presence of Canadian representatives speaking for the Government of Canada might be sufficient to prevent decisions being taken which are contrary to the public interest of Canada.

There is no reason why the Canada Development Fund should not on occasion enter into partnership with either Canadian or foreign companies for the development of our resources and the establishment of new industries. For example, provincial governments which are responsible for granting the applications for mineral rights, oil leases and timber limits might require all applicants for such rights to incorporate under Canadian laws and to take the provincial government or the Canada Development Fund into partnership.

This course has been followed in Israel, Great Britain, Sweden and several other European countries with a great

measure of success. By this method they have secured all the benefits of foreign capital and technical know-how without losing control of their economic destiny.

I am not asking you to believe that these are the *only* solutions. I am asking you to consider them, and I invite all thoughtful Canadians to present alternative proposals. The worst possible course is to do nothing – to dream and drift in the hope that this problem will go away. It won't! It is the responsibility of this generation to find the answer. If we do, another generation of Canadians will be able to sing "With glowing hearts we see thee rise, the true North strong and free." And when they sing these words it will not be a mere empty gesture. It will be the declaration of a strong and resolute people determined to be masters of their own destiny.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed
by The Reverend E. M. Howse.

APRIL 23, 1964

Mining in an Under-developed Country of Africa

AN ADDRESS BY

Sir Ronald L. Prain

O.B.E., CHAIRMAN, RHODESIAN

SELECTION TRUST GROUP

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley.

CHAIRMAN:

Sir Ronald is a man of interests that not only span all aspects of the natural resource industries but extend as well to banking and agriculture.

Perhaps best known for his contributions to the copper industry, he was raised by a family prominent in the nitrates industry and serves our own International Nickel Company as a Director and the Mond Nickel Group as an adviser.

His interests are world-wide and his prominence in the mining world unchallenged. It is for all these reasons plus the combination of Chilean birth and English schooling that have served to bless the Rhodesian Selection Trust Group with such an outstanding Chief Executive.

A Central African industrialist with a world-wide perspective – it is now my pleasure to present to you – Sir Ronald L. Prain, O.B.E.

SIR RONALD PRAIN:

I should like to express my appreciation to your Club for inviting me to address you, a special occasion in a way, since it is St. George's Day. I am only too aware of the distinguished list of speakers whom you have invited over the years, and in particular in recent weeks.

My association with Canada is a long and happy one, extending over a period of twenty-five years, and bringing me into contact with many of your provinces and people. Today, however, I have chosen to address you in my capacity as chairman of one of the great Rhodesian mining groups, and it is of Africa in general, and of Rhodesia in particular, that I shall address you.

Canada and Rhodesia have this in common, that they are the two greatest copper producing countries in the Commonwealth. But this copper is produced against two widely differing backgrounds; in your country it is only a part of a varied production of many commodities, agricultural and mineral, in what is regarded as a highly developed country; in Northern Rhodesia it is produced as the main product, in fact overwhelmingly the main product, of an under-developed country.

We live in a world which has so far failed to bridge the gap between the "have" nations and the "have not" nations. It is a twice-divided world: one which is divided politically into east and west, and economically into rich and poor, the north-south division of which Sir Alec Douglas-Home spoke to you in February. I believe that this economic division of the world is more important than the political division, and that the solving of the economic problem is more important than the solving of the political problem.

The creation of opportunity in vast areas of poverty and the fulfilment of hopes of millions of poor are the most important tasks of mankind today. That these opinions

have gained some degree of universal acceptance is evidenced by the mere existence of the terms "developed" and "under-developed". There has been some extension of the social conscience from the local and national to the international level. It has not gone very far yet. For example, in the advanced countries it is generally accepted that the richer sections of the population pay a heavier share of such public and social services as universal free education. But at the international level, we still have a long way to go before, say, a child from the poorest Ethiopian family is able to have as good a start in life as a child in this country.

The magnitude of the problem, the enormous effort required in its solution, can be more readily recognized by considering the generally accepted list of developed countries. These are the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. The rest of the world is under-developed. Two-thirds of the world's population is poor, and the poor are multiplying twice as fast as the rich. Two-thirds of the world's population has an average income in cash or in kind of \$100 a year; for the other third, it is \$1,000.

These are general statistics that cannot count the particular plight of the illiterate peasant whose income is largely composed of the often inadequate food he grows and eats; whose forbears knew nothing else, but whose children are awakening to the injustice of this divided world.

In the whole continent of Africa there is only one country classified as developed and that is the Republic of South Africa. The rest are classed in varying degrees of under-development.

I should like to consider in more detail the country of Northern Rhodesia, with which I have been associated for more than thirty years. It is a large, land-locked country. In

300,000 square miles it has a population of only $3\frac{1}{2}$ million people. Until recent times it was even more sparsely populated by Africans who were mainly forest-dwellers, subsisting on grain and root crops, supplemented by hunting and fishing. It was an existence in which man was dominated by his environment and in which his only link with the industrial transformation of the outside world was through the dubious agency of Arab slavers. Droughts and locusts, malaria and hookworm, slavers and warfare combined to keep the population numbers static. Great areas were, and some still are, uninhabitable through tsetse fly or water shortage.

In the fashion of most peasant communities, the social organization was then, and still is very largely, a small closely-knit community where politics, religion and society are based on kinship, and where work is a family or clan function for defined and limited ends, regulated by the sun and the seasons. These colonists who came from Europe moved from a continent where progress was accelerating in an industrial society into an area in which time had in most respects stood still. There was a gulf of misunderstanding between the two cultures and though there are bridges across this gulf today, some of them still carry only light traffic.

It was against this background that copper was discovered in the 1920's and a highly complex modern industry was developed which has become the foundation of the country's economy. In the 1920's Northern Rhodesia was a poor country which barely maintained even a skeleton of administrative and social services. The mining companies had to provide from their own resources almost everything that was needed.

After a quarter of a century of development, much of it under primitive pioneer conditions, we reached an almost

complete social and administrative self-sufficiency within the industry. The presence of a very large primary industry brought a number of small secondary industries and services, and the development of commercial townships. Today the Copperbelt is by far the biggest urban area in the country; it has about half a million people, or a seventh of the population. It is the largest single industrial concentration in tropical Africa, and the most concentrated copper mining industry in the world.

The social and economic upheaval in Northern Rhodesia was very nearly strangled soon after birth by the depression of the 1930's. The perils and privations of this period were then followed by the controls and taxation of the war period and after a quarter of a century of activity we could say as the 1940's went out that the investors' money might have been more profitably invested in government bonds.

The great turning point in the fortunes both of the industry and the country was the devaluation of sterling in 1949. The exchange rate between the pound sterling and the U.S. dollar changed from \$4.02 to \$2.80, that is by about 44 per cent, and the price of copper went up in £ sterling by roughly the same proportion. The Copperbelt was instantly transformed from an interesting exercise in the pioneering of heavy industry in a backward country into an economic asset meriting substantial expansion. It profoundly influenced the formation of the late Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland when it became clear that Northern Rhodesia was no longer a poor and backward dependency but a worthy partner for its relatively more developed and sophisticated neighbour, Southern Rhodesia.

The fifteen years of relative prosperity have coincided very largely with the rise to political consciousness of the African people. It is true that the stirrings of this movement could be observed long before. One of the pioneer adminis-

trators of the mines' African labour force wrote nearly thirty years ago the following words: "There is a restlessness among the more enlightened natives today which might be called the growing pains of the race; they are seeking a means to voice their opinions and have a say in their own destiny." This was a far from commonplace opinion of that time, but even its author would have been startled to know that thirty years later Northern Rhodesia would be on the brink of independent nationhood under an African government.

This rapid evolution has brought many new considerations to the mining industry. The first and most important discovery was of the remarkable adaptability of the African into an industrial society and his urgent desire to enter as fully as possible into the pains and pleasures of our western culture. This, I think, is in marked contrast to some other developing countries where the indigenous people have fought against, and retreated from, the encroachment of a new culture.

It followed naturally that there was a craving for the education and training that are the passport to a better life and to advancement in it. The prosperous years of the copper industry have not yet enabled Northern Rhodesia to make up for the poor years in providing schools. The most recent census showed that nearly seven out of ten Africans in Northern Rhodesia have never been to school, and less than one in 200 has reached high school entrance standing. Only 13,000 in the whole country have the not very demanding minimum education for entry into the territorial army.

The mining companies began, very properly, by providing training and education for their own employees. However, with an increasing ability to accept broader responsibilities to the community than would be expected in a developed country they have extended help to a much wider

field of education. As a simple example, during last year 20,000 employees or dependants of employees of our group alone took part in educational and training programmes ranging from adult literacy upwards. In the national field the copper mining companies have contributed about 10 million U.S. dollars towards training and education institutions.

This is not a wholly altruistic gesture. Whilst we recognize and accept our responsibilities to the country as a whole, through education and training we also serve our own industry. We hope, in fact, that through our contribution to education we shall reap a harvest in the future in the shape of tomorrow's engineering and managerial staff, for mining is not an over-crowded profession in any part of the world. All over Africa in the emergent countries there is fierce competition for the services of a still painfully small elite of educated men and women, not all of whom, of course, are suited to industry. For a long time to come, we shall have to compete with politics, the civil service, the foreign service, the medical, legal and teaching professions for recruits into the sciences and posts of responsibility.

A balance sheet of Northern Rhodesia would show on the credit side high exports on a per capita basis, higher in fact than those of many more developed countries; a dominant industry which provides the mainspring of all economic progress; an agricultural potential which still has to be realised; an orderly transition from colonial to self-governing status; and good race relations. The debit side would show an imbalance of wealth as between the employed and the unemployed; an undue concentration in the urban areas both in terms of wealth and people, to the detriment of the rural areas; great arrears to be made up in the field of education; and lack of capital.

Under the conditions which I have so briefly outlined what are the responsibilities of management in such a situa-

tion? It is in the nature of mining management in any country that apparent conflicts have to be reconciled between the interests of the private sector and the public sector, but in the context I have given you these responsibilities lead to particularly acute problems.

There is the responsibility of management to watch the interests of the owners. Though we do have schemes to enable our employees to acquire a share participation in the companies, these owners are predominantly overseas.

There is next the general responsibility towards employees, in this case employees of two races, to provide adequate working, living, and social conditions which do justice as between the relative groups and at the same time justice to legitimate aspirations.

Next there is the responsibility of the industry towards government. Apart from paying its taxes, an industry such as ours has to take a very broad view of its responsibilities in helping government in many ways which industries in more developed countries do not have to consider. Industry has to work with government closely to ensure that industry itself does not create conditions which are likely to lead to the creation of disorder or inequality. In our case this co-operation is close and voluntary.

Then there is the responsibility of industry towards the community. There are vast communities whose interests depend ultimately on the mining industry. They include the secondary industries and the commercial services, all of whose interests can be damaged by thoughtless managerial policy.

There is the responsibility towards customers of the industry, in this case the users of copper throughout the world. It was probably natural in the past that management should think no further than in terms of receiving the highest possible price at any given time for its products. While

this still remains one of the disciplines of efficiently run businesses, the highest possible price is not necessarily the best possible price, for industry has to take a longer view than in the past and has to think in terms of not only new markets but of maintaining old markets.

There is the responsibility towards other sections of the same industry throughout the world; this means primarily an acknowledgment that there are others engaged in the same business and that their actions must be viewed as a whole and not singly if the health of the whole industry is to be properly regarded.

Finally there is the responsibility towards the future. Nowhere is this more evident than in the mining industry which is concerned with a wasting asset. Not only does this mean the avoidance of reckless mining, but also the constant search for new reserves to perpetuate the industry.

A moment's reflection will show that the exercise of managerial judgment in our circumstances involves the risk of a clash of loyalties on a scale which finds no parallel in the developed countries. That the apparent dilemmas are resolved so frequently and so quickly often masks the true nature of the problem. Today these local problems however are attaining a wider importance and an extension into the international field.

There is as you all know at this moment a conference taking place at Geneva, the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, which has an agenda such as can seldom have been presented to a world conference of this type. A study of this agenda shows that at Geneva there will be discussed questions which are vital to the under-developed countries and which between them add up to a catalogue of practically all the problems which are faced by countries such as Northern Rhodesia. Let me mention just a few of them. East-west trade, the question of stabilization of commodi-

ties, agricultural surpluses, regional grouping of the Lesser Developed Countries, the trade gap of these countries, the question of tariffs imposed by the developed countries, the investment of private and public capital, planning for development and industrialization of the Lesser Developed Countries, access to markets, the problem of substitution, the general question of aid, and generally the measures necessary to close the increasing gap between the "have" and "have not" countries.

This list is so formidable that it may defeat its own objectives, and no one knows what may be the outcome of this conference. Yet the agenda is in itself an indication of the increasing consciousness of the world towards the under-developed countries and those which are reaching independence. Mining in an under-developed country is in the very centre of this world discussion; its success has created the problems, just as it has created the opportunities. The developed world cannot but take cognizance of these problems for, apart from any altruistic motives, the developed world is dependent in many cases for its material prosperity on the products and the political atmosphere of these Lesser Developed Countries. In the specific case of primary copper, very nearly half the world's supply comes from the under-developed sector. Violent and unpredictable fluctuations in the fortunes of the copper industry would have profound effects on the development of these countries, not only on the economic but on the political development and thus, in the long run, on the fortunes of the developed world.

In this great debate a country like Canada must be vitally interested. On the political front it must be interested in the orderly development of Africa, and in this context Northern Rhodesia is one of the two or three countries in sub-tropical Africa where the leadership of the continent may arise. Canada must be interested in the outcome of any

discussions on commodity stabilization agreements, both in the mineral and the agricultural sectors. And finally Canada with its position in the top group of developed countries must be vitally concerned in helping to close the gap between the "haves" and "have nots"; it must be ready to demonstrate its understanding of the problems and to make its contribution not only with financial aid but with technical assistance and sophisticated and sympathetic advice towards a solution of some of the problems which I have tried to outline today.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by Dean Macdonald of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

APRIL 30, 1964

Some Problems of British-Canadian Trade

AN ADDRESS BY

Peter F. Runge
PRESIDENT, FEDERATION
OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES

CHAIRMAN The President, Mr. Arthur J. Langley.

CHAIRMAN:

A product of Charterhouse and Trinity College, Oxford, where he was an Honours graduate in Chemistry, Peter Runge joined Tate & Lyle at the age of twenty-two and is now Vice-Chairman.

We know Tate & Lyle better through Canada & Dominion Sugar of which Mr. Runge is a Director. However, as Tate & Lyle is one of the world's largest sugar complexes, Mr. Runge has extensive interests in all parts of the world.

This breadth of outlook is enhanced by his appointment as President of the Federation of British Industries, which has representatives in over ninety countries.

The largest National Trade and Industrial Organization in Britain, the advice and counsel of this group has a marked and important influence on government decisions.

We are delighted that Mr. Runge is visiting Canada and is able to join with us today. Gentlemen – Mr. Peter F. Runge.

MR. RUNGE:

It is always a great pleasure to visit Canada, and particularly so on this occasion because of the opportunity you have so kindly afforded me of enjoying your generous hospitality and of speaking to this distinguished gathering. I confess that on hearing that amongst those who have recently addressed you were people no less eminent than the Archbishop of Canterbury and our present Prime Minister, I had a momentary qualm. But you will not be looking to me for spiritual comfort or political wisdom. Plain speaking, yes; common sense, I hope; we shall see.

I stand before you as an industrialist—I nearly said pure and simple, but modesty forbids the one and self-assurance the other. Self-assurance, I may add, powerfully reinforced by my pride that as President of the Federation of British Industries I can speak not just for myself but for British industry as a whole.

I am happy to tell you that things are going well in Great Britain. We are of course in the midst of an election year, and the political temperature is rising daily. At 4,000 miles distance I was almost tempted to say that I was glad to be

“Far from the noise, the fever and the fret”
until I recollected that the next line goes on

“Here where men sit and hear each other groan”
and I feared for the reception this address might well invite in consequence!

We are at the moment in an expansionary phase. Both output and demand have been rising at something like six per cent a year. Our leading industries' order books make good reading. In the vitally important engineering and electrical goods industries for example, new home orders were up by a quarter in January last over a year earlier. There are similar stories elsewhere. Exports too have been gaining

steadily: they were up by eight per cent last year and topped the £ 4,000 million mark for the first time. That's over 30 million dollars worth a day.

We have had a marked success in the first stage of what we set out to do a year or so ago. We aimed you may remember at a four per cent annual growth rate for the economy as a sustained long term objective. The missile is off the ground; in the second stage it has to be put into orbit. This is the tricky bit, but given good management – and a modicum of good luck – I'm confident it can be done.

It is generally accepted at home that while a long-term rate of four per cent is something we can maintain, six per cent with the very narrow limits in which we are forced to work seemed likely to extend the economy too much, and that is why the Chancellor of the Exchequer chose in his recent Budget to apply a mild corrective, dividing his efforts, rightly I think, between curbing consumption and encouraging savings. You will not expect me to enlarge upon the Budget, and I do not propose to do so, save naturally to wish the Chancellor success in his aim. The outcome will depend as much on the prudence and good sense of the ordinary citizen as it will on the exactness of his calculations.

People at home have been developing a most enquiring frame of mind and are displaying a great willingness, indeed even anxiety, to accept change. Recent months have seen a spate of acutely penetrating reports embodying proposals for the radical transformation of many of our existing institutions. The creation of a unified Diplomatic service, for example, with special emphasis on commercial work: proposals for the setting up of new management schools in Britain: detailed projects and plans for improving education, technical training, research, engineering design, transport and so on. And these reports are not being pigeon-holed. They are being acted on swiftly and with vigour.

The strenuous reappraisal of our domestic affairs has been matched by an equally strenuous reappraisal of our overseas position. The bewildering and rapid changes of the past few years, not least the emergence on our doorstep of the European Economic Community, have forced us to look again at where we stand as world traders.

In the past two decades we have had to face some prodigious upheavals in the structure and pattern of our trade, greater perhaps than any other major nation has had to cope with. The process of readjustment has been complicated by our constant preoccupation with the level of the Sterling Area reserves and the need to protect them against speculative attack. The new found independence of former colonies and the rise of often heavily protected secondary industries in former markets has cut markedly across the traditional exchange of manufactured goods for foodstuffs and raw materials on which we were, and still are, heavily dependent.

As world traders in every sense we have been forced to look again at our relationships with the rest of the world as a whole, and not piecemeal, country by country or area by area. We have to go for trade wherever we can find it. In the hard business of earning a living, tradition, sentiment, differences – even sharp differences of political outlook have to take second place. And since we live by trade we have a vested interest in its expansion the world over and in the removal of obstacles to it. This we believe means putting into practice in the trade field the concept of interdependence which we have already come to accept in the political field. It involves in particular a conscious recognition that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible.

This has been the reality at the heart of all the efforts made since the war to bring the nations closer together for their mutual economic benefit – in the United Nations, in

the G.A.T.T., in the World Bank and the I.M.F.; it was the reality that inspired the Marshall Plan and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and continues to inspire the work of the O.E.C.D. It will, I trust, find a deep echo in the twin Conferences this year in Geneva: the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, now in its fifth week, and the Kennedy Round in G.A.T.T. For the problems they are tackling are quite literally vital.

We have heard much in recent weeks of the pressing need to narrow the gap between rich and poor nations, and to provide the less developed countries with the stable and expanding markets they need for their produce and manufactures. You may, like I have been, in turn diverted, perplexed, perhaps alarmed at some of the more ill-considered suggestions about what the richer countries ought, it is said, to be doing about this. But we must not be seduced by these emotions into indifference. It would clearly be nonsensical if in seeking to help others we merely enfeebled ourselves, for in our own prosperity lies one of the surest guarantees for the improvement of both demand and prices for the developing countries. Equally we should be wrong to try and combat one set of distortions in world trade by creating others of an artificial and very possibly pernicious character. But we can, and should, be prepared to open our markets more widely to imports of special interest to developing countries.

For their part I am convinced that one of the ways in which the developing countries can best help themselves is by creating and maintaining conditions that will attract private investment from abroad. Overseas investment, soundly based and properly managed, benefits both parties – the country providing the capital and the country receiving it. The investor takes with him not only his capital, but his know-how and experience. Out of sheer self-interest he

is bound to ensure that proper management, proper technical advice and proper training facilities go along with his investment. I wish this was more generally recognized.

Britain's thinking on all these matters is naturally deeply coloured by long experience in Empire and Commonwealth, still a source of pride, inspiration and strength. It is fashionable at present in some quarters to play down the Commonwealth. I can only ascribe this to ignorance or envy. Ignorance at home in refusing to recognize that new Commonwealth is not old Empire writ small, but exciting and vital in its own right.

The days are long gone when the Empire was ruled from Whitehall; when Britain was the sole repository of manufacturing skill, and its trade was based on the simple exchange of manufactures for raw materials and foodstuffs. Modern developments have negated the concept of the Commonwealth as a unified trading bloc. But of the importance of the Commonwealth as a force in world affairs, particularly in the field of economic and social progress I have no doubt at all. In this the senior members of the Commonwealth and not least Canada can and must take a lead.

What is important about the Commonwealth is in fact its essential unity in diversity. It contains members of all races, colours and creeds at all stages of political, social and economic development. At the same time, for us in Britain it is very much a family affair. There are very few of us who haven't relatives or friends scattered about the Commonwealth somewhere.

This brings me to the final section of this brief address; relations between Britain and Canada. Trade-wise at least, these have been giving us all some concern of late. Last year our imports from Canada totalled close on £370 million (\$1,110 million); our exports to Canada at just over £170 million (\$510 million) were less than half that figure, and

£50 million (\$150 million) down from what they had been two years previously. Now I know that there are certain special reasons that account for part of that drop, but the minus sign against Canada does stand out very sharply against a fairly impressive row of plusses in other markets.

We are not, I can assure you, looking at this problem from any narrowly bilateral angle. We in British industry believe in multilateral trade and we are traditionally accustomed to setting off deficits in one area against surplusses in another. Even so I don't think any of us can be happy about the present situation, with our exports falling off in spite of the preferential tariffs we enjoy, and the trade imbalance getting steadily bigger. Nor is it good enough to suggest as some Canadians do that British exporters are just not good at selling to other countries. The record speaks for itself. Our exporters have recently been notching up some spectacular successes in some of the hardest markets in the world, particularly in Europe.

It's fairly obvious there's something very wrong here but the difficulty is in defining it. Most of it quite frankly seems to be psychological. There is a widespread impression in Britain that Canada is just about the most difficult of all our markets. There is a cumulative feeling of frustration that has grown up dating back to devaluation and the surcharges. Your extremely stringent valuation and anti-dumping legislation doesn't help in this, particularly the latter which is quite the toughest in the world and but for a technicality would be banned by G.A.T.T. (You may think this is "old hat" but you would be surprised by the amount of feeling it generates.)

There is in general an impression that there exists a thicket of administrative difficulties to be overcome in trading with Canada. We are naturally concerned about this state of affairs and I think it has begun to worry your Gov-

ernment too. Certainly we were very glad to welcome Mr. Mitchell Sharp, your Minister for Trade and Commerce when he visited London recently and we were particularly honoured that he found time during his very crowded stay in London to visit the F.B.I. and talk to us freely and frankly about our mutual problems. He gave us a most sympathetic hearing and I think went home with a fuller understanding of the kind of things that are worrying us.

I think the meeting left us all with the feeling that whatever the rights and wrongs of the matter, there is this psychological barrier to be overcome, and that it is up to all of us to do something about it. I will be frank and say that my and other people's efforts in this would be made a good deal easier if we could see some overt gesture from Canada itself in recognition of the special difficulties we sometimes face. Perhaps I can take as a very happy augury the recent Budget concession on whisky bottle sizes, which removed a minor but persistent irritant to our exporters of Scotch! When I reflect that our own budget increased the tax on Scotch by ten per cent I can't help feeling there is a moral here somewhere.

We are not going just to sit still of course. Mr. Sharp gave us some very sensible advice on the Canadian market that will not go unheeded. We shall certainly be active in doing whatever we can to reinforce the links between Britain and Canada. Next fall, for example, will see the second in a series of bilateral exchanges initiated by the Federation of British Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce. The F.C.C.C. is doing an immensely useful job on these lines throughout the Commonwealth; and those of you, and there must be many, who know our Western Hemisphere Exports Council (to whose work under Lord Rootes' inspired leadership let me pay a warm tribute) will see it also take on a new look in the months to come.

What we have in mind is to make a single co-ordinated effort of all our world wide export promotion activities, within which our work in particular countries or areas, beginning with those formerly dealt with by the Western Hemisphere Exports Council, will be closely integrated. A new Committee will be created under a well-known and active Chairman, specially to deal with Anglo-Canadian trade problems. Final arrangements are now in train. I cannot yet mention names; but I predict you will soon be hearing, and seeing, a great deal of the new Chairman and his colleagues.

To conclude, although Canada is a difficult and highly competitive market, Canadians are still some of Britain's best customers. We know that there is in Canada a great warmth of feeling for Great Britain and we are sure that you have as great a desire as we have to expand trade between us. We perfectly recognize that there is no sentimentality in business and that we cannot look to our blood relationship with Canada to sell our goods for us. We are certainly not despondent about our prospects and particularly now that your economy is entering a new phase of expansion, we look forward to doing valuable business with our senior partner in the Commonwealth.

Thanks

Thanks of this meeting were expressed by President-elect, Hon. D. Roland Michener.

APRIL 30, 1964

President's Report *1963-1964*

ANNUAL MEETING

Our 60th Anniversary Year has been remarkable for so many reasons that it is virtually impossible to review it adequately. Before our season even began, we enjoyed the marvellous Archbishop of Canterbury meeting on the eve of the Anglican Congress and of course our year was launched in superb fashion with another full house in the Canadian Room to hear Canada's Prime Minister.

During our regular season we have participated in twenty-eight luncheon meetings with an average attendance of 399. *Not* included in these figures are our two giant meetings. The Canterbury meeting was attended by almost 1,200, while of course our fabulous Diamond Jubilee Dinner with Sir Alec Douglas-Home drew over 1,600. This outstanding attendance record is a reflection of our very good fortune in being able to present one of the most impressive arrays of speakers ever to grace our rostrum.

Our membership experience this year has been truly startling, with a new member intake of 981. After giving effect to normal attrition, our membership now stands at a record total of 2,848. These results are a great tribute to the efforts of your committees who have worked hard and long to make this a banner year.

Colonel Bruce Legge deserves very special mention for agreeing to remain on the Board an extra year to chair the Anniversary Committee, whose activities were a key factor in our success – the Diamond Jubilee Dinner, the Commemorative Church Service, the gracious receptions tendered the Club by the Lieutenant-Governor are samples of

its fine work. Under Colonel Legge's guidance, his Committee set up the Diamond Jubilee Fund to help finance the increased scope of our activities – and donations large and small are still coming in, with the total now in the neighbourhood of \$6,418.50. The Club owes and I owe, a very special debt of gratitude to him.

David Menzel characteristically gave a new look to our Publicity and Public Relations Committee and our Press, Radio and TV liaison improved greatly.

Douglas Best and the Year Book Committee are hard at work as usual, to make this year's edition a fitting souvenir of our 60th Anniversary. It will incorporate a cross-referenced 60-year index of subjects and speakers and will be an invaluable reference work. We are very grateful to one of our distinguished Past Presidents, Dr. C. C. Goldring, for volunteering to be the Editor of the Year Book and assuring us of an unusually excellent result.

Dr. Clarence Crummey and his superb Reception Committee have added much to the friendly climate at our gatherings and helped many members in many ways.

You all know how long and patiently Jack Corrigan and the Constitution Committee laboured to produce the excellent, revised and streamlined Club Constitution.

Our Finances, which will be reported to all members in detail, as soon as the Audit is complete, are in excellent shape and for guiding us through an expensive but rewarding year, we must extend very warm thanks to Warren Goldring and his Budget Committee.

The Membership results you know. Bredin Stapells and his committee, backed by the active interest of an unprecedented number of our own members, produced a forty per cent increase in our numbers. Their achievement speaks for itself.

Every meeting has been enriched by interesting and

impressive Head Tables and for discharging this onerous duty with so much imagination and efficiency, we owe much to the good-natured diligence of Harold Gillingham.

Our good friends at the Royal York, from Angus MacKinnon and Charles Dario right through the organization, have excelled themselves this year and as you know, performed miracles for the Sir Alec Douglas-Home dinner. We value their friendly interest and wonderful co-operation.

We are particularly fortunate in the Empire Club in having the most wonderful group of Past Presidents a Club could ask for. They are not content to rest on the laurels of the labours and successes of their years but are ever ready to assist and advise when their aid and counsel is required. I am under a very great obligation to all of them for their continued support and encouragement during a very busy year.

Many things occurred to make this season unusual and successful, and not least of these was the Club's great good fortune in obtaining the services of one of its most successful Past Presidents as Secretary-Treasurer. I refer of course, to John Griffin. As if being President of the Griffin Press was not demanding enough, he undertook to assume the terrific task of reorganizing and managing our entire administrative machinery and even took in his stride the unusual demands made upon his great talents by our many extra activities that were superimposed on the problems created by greatly increased attendance and the huge membership enrolment. In short, the Club would not have enjoyed the success it has without him and I would have found my task well-nigh impossible if I had not been fortunate enough to have his unstinting support and the benefit of his experience and wisdom to guide me.

I cannot conclude my report without acknowledging the support and encouragement of my senior associates at

Dominion Securities Corporation, whose interest and forbearance played a great part in enabling me to devote the required time to this unusually demanding year.

It has been a wonderful year and I am grateful to so many people for so many things. I will always treasure the honour accorded me in having been your President.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR J. LANGLEY.

Report of Nominating Committee

As required by our new Constitution, the Nominating Committee was comprised of the following nine members:

Mr. B. R. Curzon	Lt. Col. B. J. Legge
Mr. Harold Gillingham	Dr. James Parish
Lt. Col. D. C. Haldenby	Dr. Z. S. Phimister
Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg	Major Ian Woolley
Major A. J. Langley	

Your Committee met three times and after careful consideration the following gentlemen are recommended as Directors.

It is most fitting that the first name mentioned is that of the incomparable Arthur Langley who will serve on next year's Board as the Immediate Past President. The other Past Presidents will be:

Palmer Kent, Q.C. Dr. Z. S. Phimister
Alexander Stark, Q.C.

The strength of the Club has been renewed throughout our history by the recruitment of new Directors and this year we have eleven outstanding men to join our Board for the first time:

Mr. F. G. Brander	Dean H. I. MacDonald
Mr. Edward Dunlop	Lt. Col. E. A. Royce, E.D.
Mr. C. C. Hoffman	W/C L. W. Skey, D.F.C.
Mr. J. O. Hughes	Mr. Page Wadsworth
Major Peter Hunter	Lt. Col. J. G. Wasteneys, C.D.
Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, Q.C.	

We are also most happy to report that the following have agreed to continue as Directors:

Dr. E. M. Howse	Norman Borins, Q.C.
R. L. Armstrong	J. H. Corrigan, Q.C.
Ian Baxter	Dr. H. V. Cranfield
Douglas Best	Dr. C. B. Crummey

Mr. Marvin Gelber, M.P.	J. B. McGeachy
H. G. Gillingham	D. G. Neelands
Graham Goldring	Dr. J. A. Parish
The Hon. Paul Hellyer, M.P.	Mr. Ford Ralph
H. N. R. Jackman	J. K. Williams, Q.C.
W. M. Karn	R. J. Wood
T. C. Keefer	

As Third Vice President your Nominating Committee recommends Mr. Graham Gore, a distinguished Past President of the Toronto Board of Trade Club and Superintendent of Secondary Schools for the Toronto Board of Education.

For Second Vice President, a Member of the Royal Commission on Taxation and a member of the famous Empire Club family, Mr. R. B. Stapells, Q.C.

The Nominating Committee has selected for First Vice President Lt. Col. R. H. Hilborn, M.B.E., the gallant former commander of the Toronto Scottish Regiment. Colonel Hilborn is also a leading member of the business community as the President of Harry Price Insurance Limited.

There is a spartan tradition in The Empire Club of Canada that each and every President strives to give the Club to his successor in a stronger condition than he received it. This year The Empire Club is at an olympian height and your Committee believes that the Hon. D. R. Michener, Q.C., B.C.L., P.C., is singularly suited to lead the Club next year. Mr. Michener is a Rhodes Scholar who has had an illustrious career at the Bar, as a Provincial Cabinet Minister, as a Royal Commissioner and as the renowned Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons.

Mr. President, I have the honour to nominate these gentlemen as Directors of The Empire Club of Canada and the Hon. Roland Michener as the Sixty-First President of The Empire Club of Canada.

Militia Salute Programme

A particularly interesting feature of our Anniversary Year was the incorporation of a series of salutes to the various reserve components of the Armed Forces – those units whose voluntary service characterizes the long and magnificent traditions of the citizen soldiers of Canada.

At almost every meeting we endeavoured to pay tribute to one of these groups, all of whom were found to be represented in some degree, in the membership of the Club. Many of the units added considerable colour to our meetings by providing sentries in full dress at the entrance to the ballroom, or pipers to lead in the head table guests or model displays of their particular area of interest and in almost every case among our guests were many representatives of the units themselves and the unit associations. On each such occasion the Commanding Officer of the unit being honoured and one other senior officer such as the Honorary Colonels of the Army units, joined us as head table guests.

The services and units saluted during the course of this program were as follows:

- The Royal Canadian Navy
- The Governor-General's Horse Guards
- The Queen's York Rangers
- The 29th Field Artillery Regiment
- The 42nd Medium Artillery Regiment
- The 1st Locating Artillery Regiment
- The 2nd Field Engineer Regiment
- The 2nd Signals Regiment

The 8th Signals Regiment
The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada
The Royal Regiment of Canada
The 48th Highlanders of Canada
The Toronto Scottish Regiment
The Irish Regiment of Canada
The 4th Battalion Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps
The 4th Technical Regiment R.C.E.M.E.
The 2nd Intelligence Training Company
The 2nd Canadian Provost Corps Company
The 26th Medical Battalion
The 56th Dental Company, and last, but not least,
The Royal Canadian Air Force.

THE EMPIRE CLUB
OF CANADA
TORONTO, ONTARIO

REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS

June 10, 1964

The President and Directors,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,

Further to our Report of this date to the Members of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, we advise as follows:

Membership Fees:

We are satisfied that, in total, all 1963-64 fees receivable from Members on record as in good standing as at 30th April, 1964, have been accounted for.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:

	<i>Resident</i>	<i>Non- Resident</i>	<i>Honorary and Life</i>	<i>Total</i>
Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1963	1,956	86	36	2,078
Net Increase	687	30	53	770
	2,643	116	89	2,848

The Secretary-Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1964 contained 2,848 Members as above.

Payments:

All payments made during the year were authorized by the Board of Directors.

Liabilities:

The President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Club have certified that there were no outstanding accounts as at 30th April, 1964.

Insurance:

We are informed that as at 30th April, 1964 Insurance in force was as follows:

Property:

Furniture and Equipment subject to 90% co-insurance	\$ 1,100.00
Silver Cigar Box	700.00
Public Liability and Property Damage	200,000.00
	Inclusive
Fidelity Bond covering all employees of the Club including the Secretary-Treasurer	10,000.00

Acknowledgment:

We express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance extended to us during the course of our audit.

Reported by

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Honorary Auditors

THE EMPIRE CLUB
OF CANADA

THE ANNUAL
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1964

Cash on Hand and in Bank 30th April, 1963 \$2,819.74

Current Receipts:

Membership Fees	\$16,814.20	
Proceeds from Sale of Year Book	3.00	
Interest – Bank	\$ 66.13	
– Bonds	270.00	
		336.13
Donations		818.50
Special Functions		1,375.08
		19,346.91

Current Payments:

Furniture and Fixtures	\$ 505.13	
Luncheon Expenses – Net of Proceed of Sale of Tickets.....	1,398.99	
Members' Notices	4,492.44	
Miscellaneous Expenses	649.76	
Music	614.00	
Printing, Stationery and Postage	3,002.43	
Printing 1962-63 Year Book	4,313.14	
Recording and Publicity	50.60	
Rent	240.00	
Speakers' Expense	13.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	660.76	
Salaries	1,920.00	
Outside Services	497.89	
Honoraria – Secretary-Treasurers	2,062.50	
		20,420.64

Excess of Current Payments over Current Receipts 1,073.73

Life Membership Fees Received

\$1,746.01
5,700.00

*Cash on Hand (\$25.00) and in Bank (\$7,421.01)
as at 30th April, 1964*

\$7,446.01

To the Members,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1964 and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1964.

In addition to the Cash Balance of \$7,446.01 the Club held at 30th April, 1964 \$6,000.00 Par Value Government of Canada 4½ % Bonds maturing 1st September, 1983.

At 30th April, 1964 the Club was committed to publish the 1963-64 Year Book at an estimated cost of \$5,500.00.

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY

Toronto, Ontario.

10th June, 1964.

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Honorary Auditors.

1964-1965

Officers and Board of Directors

Officers

President
First Vice-President
Second Vice-President
Third Vice-President
Secretary-Treasurer
Honorary Secretary
Honorary Treasurer
Honorary Auditor

HON. D. R. MICHENER, P.C., Q.C., LL.D.
LT. COL. R. H. HILBORN, M.B.E.
R. BREDIN STAPELLS, Q.C.
GRAHAM M. GORE
JOHN W. GRIFFIN
ERNEST MILES
H. T. JAMIESON, F.C.A.

Directors

R. L. ARMSTRONG
IAN S. BAXTER
DOUGLAS BEST
NORMAN BORINS, Q.C.
F. GERALD BRANDER
J. H. CORRIGAN, Q.C.
DR. HAROLD V. CRANFIELD
DR. CLARENCE B. CRUMMEY
MAJOR E. A. DUNLOP,
G.M., O.B.E., M.P.P.
MARVIN B. GELBER, M.P.
HAROLD G. GILLINGHAM
C. WARREN GOLDRING
HON. PAUL T. HELLYER,
P.C., M.P.
CHARLES C. HOFFMAN
REV. E. M. HOWSE,
S.T.M., PH.D., D.D.

JAMES O. HUGHES
MAJOR P. W. HUNTER
H. N. R. JACKMAN
E. B. JOLLIFFE, Q.C.
WILLIAM M. KARN
MAJOR T. C. KEEFER
J. B. MCGEACHY
H. I. MACDONALD
DONALD G. NEELANDS
DR. JAMES A. PARISH
LT. COL. E. A. ROYCE, E.D.
R. FORD RALPH
W. C. L. W. SKEY, D.F.C.
J. P. R. WADSWORTH
LT. COL. J. G. WASTENEYS, C.D.
J. K. WILLIAMS, Q.C.
R. J. WOOD

*Immediate
Past President*

ARTHUR J. LANGLEY

Past Presidents

J. PALMER KENT, Q.C.
DR. Z. S. PHIMISTER
ALEXANDER STARK, Q.C.

Index of Speakers, 1903-1964

- Abbott, D. C.**
New Look at Canada.
1947-48.
Some Economic and
Financial Consequences of
Defence. 1950.
- Adams, A. J.**
Winchester and its Historical
Associations. 1933-34.
- Adams, F. D.**
Undeveloped Mineral
Resources of Canada.
1906-07.
- Adams, Sir Grantley**
Challenge of the West Indies.
1958.
- Adams, Sir J.**
The Art of Listening. 1932.
- Ahuja, M. R.**
New India. 1945-46.
- Aitken, Kate**
By Jet to Jo'Burg. 1953.
- Aitken, Miss Margaret**
Birth of a Nation. 1948-49.
- Alcock, Dr. Norman Z.**
Can the Scientist Win the
Peace? 1962.
- Aldred, Joel W.**
The Future of Canadian
Television. 1961.
- Alexander, Lt. Col. A. S.**
Some Aspects of the Free
World's Concern with the
Satellite Nations of East
Europe. 1960.
- Alexander, Viscount**
Address. 1946-47.
- Alexander of Russia, Grand
Duke**
Out of My Life. 1929.
- Alexander, R. O.**
Canada's Defence Forces.
1938-39.
- Ali, A. Y.**
The True India. 1932.
- Allan, J.**
Defence of the Empire.
1912-13.
- Allan, J. D.**
Commercial Russia. 1916-17.
Reciprocity with the United
States. 1910-11.
- Allcut, Prof. E. A.**
Automobiles of the Future.
1953.
- Allen, William R.**
A Glimpse into Metro
Future. 1962.
- Ambridge, D. W.**
Fears and Fancies of the
Forests. 1955.
- Amery, L. S.**
Britain's Interests in the East.
1929.
British League of Nations.
1920.
Hudson's Bay: Its Conditions
and Problems. 1910-11.
Imperial Cooperation. 1928.
- Ames, H. B.**
Machine in Honest Hands.
1906-07.
- Amory, Rt. Hon. Viscount**
The Commonwealth. 1962.
- Anderson, B. M.**
The English-speaking World
and the Continent of
Europe: Why France and
Germany need Help from
the English-speaking
World. 1923.

- Anderson, C. P.**
Internationalism. 1924.
- Andrews, W. E.**
Fraternity and Patriotism. 1912-14.
- Angell, Sir. N.**
What is Happening in the British Empire? 1932.
- Anthes, L. L.**
Canadian Industries and Trade. 1933-34.
- Apponyi, Count A.**
Social and Economic History of Hungary: Its Present Outlook. 1923.
- Archer-Shee, M.**
State-owned Atlantic Cable. 1911-12.
- Arden-Clarke, Sir Charles**
Empire Into Commonwealth. 1959.
- Archbishop of Canterbury**
Personal Responsibility and Interdependence. 1963.
- Archibald, W. P.**
Criminal Anthropology from a Canadian Point of View. 1907-08.
Criminology in the British Empire. 1906-07.
New Criminology. 1905-06.
- Argue, Hazen,**
Can Canada Survive the Soviet Challenge? 1960.
- Armour, S.**
Do We Face Ideological Conquest? 1946-47.
Whither? (Socialism; communism.) 1947-48.
- Aroutunian, Hon. A.**
Some Reflections on Khrushchev's Visit to U.S.A., and a Further Development of Soviet-Canadian Relations. 1959.
- Arthur, E. R.**
Town Planning. 1943-44.
- Ash, W. M. V.**
The Duke of Edinburgh's Second Commonwealth Study Conference. 1962.
- Atherton, R.**
Looking Forward to the Post-War World. 1944-45.
- Athlone, Earl of**
Address. 1940-41.
Empire. 1942-43.
- Aylesworth, Sir A.**
The Crown. 1927.
- Babson, R. W.**
Business Outlook for 1923. 1922.
- Baden-Powell, Sir R. S. S.**
Boy Scout Movement. 1910-11, 1923.
- Baig, His Excellency Mirza Osman Ali**
Pakistan Today. 1954.
- Baillie, A. V.**
Canada's Heritage of British Traditions. 1927.
- Baillieu, The Lord**
Challenge of Our Time. 1954.
- Baird, Sir R.**
Conditions in Ireland. 1922.
- Baker, A.**
The Spanish Nations and their Increasing Interest to us. 1916-17.
- Baker, E. A.**
Canada's Place in Work for the Blind. 1936-37.
- Baker, P. J. N.**
Disarmament. 1933-34.
- Baldensperger, F.**
An Unofficial Frenchman's View of the European Situation. 1935-36.
Watching the Enemy (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Baldwin, Earl**
Educational Ideals. 1927.
- Baldwin, H. C.**
Outlook for 1931. 1930.

- Baldwin, H. W.**
Some Strategic Aspects of the War in 1940. 1939-40.
- Baldwin, W.**
British Election. 1949-50.
- Ball, M. W.**
Anglo-American Responsibilities. 1940-41.
- Bangs, J. K.**
Salubrities I Have Met. 1920.
- Barbeau, M.**
Folk Songs of French Canada. 1925; 1929.
- Barclay, L. W.**
The Business man, the Community Builder. 1922.
- Barker, J. E.**
Imperial Defence and tariff Reform. 1910-11.
- Barker, L. F.**
Some of the Triumphs of Modern Medicine. 1909-10.
- Barkway, Michael**
After the Crises – the Clean-up. 1962.
International Radio in War and Peace. 1945-46.
Report on Britain. 1946-47.
- Barnard, E. E.**
Photographing the Sky. 1920.
- Barrette, Hon. Antonio**
Our Partnership. 1960.
- Barrie, Sir Walter**
Lloyd's of London. 1960.
- Barron, J. A.**
Naval Defence for Canada. 1908-09.
- Basset, J. W. H.**
Canada's Impact on World Affairs. 1955.
Report of Another Journey. 1958.
- Bateman, G. C.**
Mining – A Permanent Industry. 1926.
- Baxter, A. B.**
Behind the Scenes. 1932.
From the Heart of Things. 1937-38.
- What I have Seen Over There and Over Here. 1941-42.
World from Westminster. 1939-40.
World Today and Tomorrow. 1949-50.
- Beale, O. C.**
Some Conditions in Australia. 1905-06.
- Beaton, J. W.**
Impact of World Forces in the Far East. 1935-36.
- Beatty, Sir E. W.**
Ontario and Its Railways. 1919.
Some Canadian Problems. 1924.
- Beaubien, C. P.**
Hitlerism. 1939-40.
- Beaudoin, Hon. L. R.**
Mr. Speaker. 1956.
Summoned to the Bar. 1955.
- Bech, G.**
Denmark and the War. (W. W. I). 1917-18.
- Beck, T. H.**
World Today. 1947-48.
- Bell, A.**
Substance of My Latest Research. 1917-18.
- Bell, J. M.**
Mineral Wealth of Canada. 1927.
- Belmont, Mrs. A.**
Red Cross Work Overseas. (W.W. I) 1917-18.
- Benn, Wedgwood, Viscount Stansgate**
The New British Commonwealth. 1933-34.
- Bennett, Viscount**
Canada. 1942-43.
Retrospect and Prophecy. 1939-40.
- Benson, F. W.**
Canadians in the Imperial Military Service. 1904-05.

- Bentham, Miss E.**
Empire Builders (Barnardo homes). 1922.
- Berkinshaw, R. C.**
Canadian Trade Mission Trip to South Africa. 1947-48.
- Bernier, J. E.**
Arctic Regions of Canada. 1909-10.
Our Northern Heritage. 1926.
- Berton, Pierre**
Is the Press too Sensational? 1960.
- Bessborough, Earl**
Address on Empire. 1931.
Special luncheon meeting.
- Best, Dr. Charles H.**
The Advance of Medical Research. 1953.
- Bing, Rudolf**
This Business of Opera. 1957.
- Birchall, L.**
Japanese Ceylon Attack and Afterwards. 1945-46.
- Birge, C. A.**
Relations of Canada, the Motherland, and the United States. 1903-04.
- Birkenhead, Earl**
Mr. Chamberlain's Policy and its Prospects. 1906-07.
- Birkett, Sir N.**
Britain and Canada — Brothers-in-Arms. 1942-43.
Secret of the Spirit of Britain. 1941-42.
- Bishop, W. A.**
British Aviation in War and Peace. 1930.
Experiences of a Canadian Aviator in France. (W.W. I) 1917-18.
What Aviation Means to Canada. 1935-36.
Winged Warfare Over Britain. 1940-41.
- Bissell, C. T.**
The University and the City. 1958.
- Black, E. R.**
The World Bank, Canada and the Commonwealth. 1953.
- Black, G.**
The New Yukon. 1922.
- Black, R.**
Paying Our War Debt with Timber Crops. 1921.
- Blancke, Harold**
Modern Concept of Industrialism. 1951.
- Blatz, Dr. W. E.**
The Psychology of Lying. 1950.
- Blondin, P.**
The Federal Government and the Situation. (W.W. I). 1915-16.
- Bolton, A. H. and Stahl, F.**
The Outlook for the Canadian Stock Market. 1964. (Bolton)
Outlook for the United States Economy and Securities Markets for 1964. 1964. (Stahl)
- Borden, Henry**
Modern Brazil. 1956.
- Borden, Sir R. L.**
Canada and the (First) Great War. 1914-15.
Recent Developments in Parliamentary Institutions. 1905-06.
- Boss, W. "Bill"**
Korean Report. 1951.
Report from Moscow. 1954.
- Bouchard, G.**
A Habitant Looks Over Canada. 1933-34.
- Boulton, Sir H. E.**
Patriotism and Poetry. 1928.
- Bovey, W.**
This Democratic Empire. 1939-40.
- Bowditch, R. L.**
Around the United States in Twenty Minutes. 1956.

Bowhill, Sir F.

Coastal Command and its
Work with the Royal
Navy. 1941-42.

Bowles, R. P.

Culturing Canadian
Patriotism. 1924.

Boyd, E. J.

Work of the Juvenile Court.
1914-15.

Braddon, H. Y.

Australia and Her Post-War
Problem (W.W. I). 1919.

Bradley, Hon. F. G.

The Empire of Mankind.
1951.

Brancker, Sir S.

Progress in Civil Aviation.
1926.

Branscombe, E.

Influence of Music on the
Community. 1928.

Bready, J. W.

Why Britain Still Leads.
1939-40.

Brett, G. S.

Present Conditions and
Future Prospects in
India. 1908-09.

Brickner, B. R.

Immigration and Coloniza-
tion. 1922.

Social Progress through
Social Service. 1920.

The Five-Year Plan -
Russia's Challenge to
Capitalism. 1931.

World Crisis and the Out-
look. 1932.

Bridges, J. G.

Investment of Friendship.
1947-48.

Bristol, E.

Yukon Territory. 1905-06.

Brittain, Sir H.

Press and the Empire. 1919.

Brittain, H. L.

Must Municipalities Muddle
Along? 1933-34.

Brittain, Miss Vera

A Personal Confession of
Faith. 1934-35.

Brock, R. W.

Mineral Resources of
Canada. 1908-09.

Brockelbank, Hon. J. H.

Eighteen Years of C.C.F.
Accomplishment in
Saskatchewan. 1963.

Brockett, E. D., Jr.

The Oil Industry - Where Do
We Go From Here? 1959.

Brockington, L. W.

St. George and Merrie
England. 1954.

Brodeur, L. P.

Imperial Conference of 1907.
1907-08.

Loyalty of French-Canadians
to the Empire. 1903-04.

Brown, Sir G. M.

Canada's Achievements and
Opportunities in Europe.
(W.W. I) 1919.

Brown H.

New Alignments in Europe.
1935-36.

Brown, Dr. Richard F.

Korea - Today. 1957.

Browne, B. W.

Canada's Reserve Army.
1942-43.

Bruce, Dr. H. A.

Civilization and the Cave
Man (Housing in Canada.)
1936-37.

Out of the Woods. (Toronto
history.) 1933-34.

Bruce-Lockhart, Dr. Patrick

Why Medicare in Ontario.
1962.

Bryce, J.

Imperialism. 1911-12.

Bryce, P. H.

Civic Responsibility and the
Increase of Immigration.
1906-07.

- Buchan, Hon. Alastair**
The United States and Co-
Existence. 1954.
Washington Through British
Eyes. 1952.
- Bull, H. H. and Martin, G. A.**
Is This Justice? 1957.
- Burgin, E. L.**
Plans Unfold. 1943-44.
- Burke, A. E.**
Irishman's Place in the
Empire. 1909-10.
Position of Prince Edward
Island. 1908-09.
- Burnham, J. H.**
Are We Equal to the
Occasion? 1912-13.
- Burns, General E. L. M.**
Where Does Disarmament
Stand Today? 1961.
- Burton, C. L.**
Function of the Toronto
Industrial and Publicity
Commission. 1929.
What Shall We Fight It With?
1953.
- Burwash, N.**
Imperialism in Education.
1903-04.
- Butler, H. B.**
Unemployment. 1930.
- Cahan, C. H.**
A Pernicious Propaganda.
1919.
Pending Developments in the
Constitution of the British
Empire. 1929.
- Calder, R. L.**
Is Quebec a British Province?
1933-34.
- Caldwell, W.**
Europe and the British
Empire. 1927.
- Cameron, Sir D.**
The Canadian Outlook.
(W.W. I) 1916-17.
- Cameron, W. J.**
United States - Its General
Atmosphere and
Conditions. 1939-40.
- Campbell, A. W.**
Good Roads and the Public
Welfare. 1910-11.
- Campbell, Clarence**
Hockey as a Business and as
a Career. 1963.
- Campbell, Sir G.**
The British Consular Service.
1931.
Masters of Our Fate.
1936-37.
- Campbell, Sir M.**
How Speed Records are
Broken. 1932.
Speed Trials at Daytona.
1933-34.
- Campbell, W. S.**
Turner Valley - Its Resources
and Possibilities. 1937-38.
- Campbell, W. W.**
Imperialism in Canada.
1904-05.
- Campion, Lord**
Forty Years in the British
House of Commons.
1952-53.
- Campney, Hon. R. O.**
Defence and the North. 1956.
- Camsell, C.**
Canada's Position in Relation
to the Empire's Mineral
Situation. 1939-40.
The Trial of '35 (4,000-Mile
Aerial Trip through
N.W. Canada) 1935-36.
- Carney, R. W.**
Businessman Speaks Up.
1943-44.
Strength and Threat of
Japan. 1943-44.
Unfinished Task. 1944-45.
- Carpenter, A. F. E.**
Fight at Zeebrugge (W.W. I).
1919.

- Carrel, F.**
Romance of Intra-Empire Trade. 1930.
Save Our Timber and Forest Industries. 1940-41.
- Carter, F. G.**
Hospital Problems in Peace and War. 1939-40.
- Carter, T.**
India and the Empire. 1920.
- Cartland, G. B.**
Africa - The Uncommitted Continent. 1963.
- Casgrain, J. P. B.**
At the Heart of the Empire. 1911-12.
Problems of Transportation in Canada. 1910-11.
- Catledge, T.**
Democracy Reawakening. 1937-38.
(U.S. Government and Politics.) 1937-38.
- Catlin, G. E. G.**
Role of Canada in the Challenge of the East to the West. 1947-48.
- Cavan, Earl of**
Empire Problems of Today. 1921.
- Cave, Viscount**
Meaning of the Empire Today. 1920.
- Cavell, Nick**
Canada and the Colombo Plan. 1952.
- Cavell, R. G.**
Canada and the British Empire. 1938-39.
- Cecil, Viscount**
The Commonwealth and the League of Nations. 1933-34.
- Chadwick, E. M.**
Flying of Flags in Canada. 1906-07.
- Chalmers, F. S.**
Next Five Years in Canada. 1935-36.
- Chamberlain, N.**
Imperial Solidarity. 1922.
- Champion, T. E.**
Canada and Imperial Defence. 1905-06.
- Charlesworth, H.**
The Changing Scene. 1932.
- Chelmsford, Baron**
Earl Grey's Scheme for Dominion House in London. 1913-14.
- Chevalier, W.**
As the Allies Face the Future. 1944-45.
- Chevrier, The Hon. Lionel**
The St. Lawrence Seaway. 1955.
- Cheyney, W. J.**
What is the Objective in Instalment Selling? 1947-48.
- Chipman, M. R.**
Europe, Our Next Door Neighbour. 1948-49.
- Chisholm, Major General Brock**
World Health. 1951.
- Christmas, E.**
Some Experiences in Showmanship. 1949-50.
- Church, S. H.**
World's Debt to England. 1917-18.
- Churchill, R.**
The Basis of Peace. 1931.
- Churchill, Winston.**
British Imperial Interests. 1929.
- Clark, G.**
Blitzkrieg in Flanders. 1940-41.
London to Paris to Rome. 1938-39.
Sportsmen, Indeed? 1949-50.
With the Prime Minister in Great Britain. 1941-42.
- Clark, H.**
Empire Conditions and Imperial Defence. 1905-06.

- Clark, J. M.**
 French Shore Question and Newfoundland. 1903-04.
 Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 1908-09.
 Treaty-Making Power. 1904-05.
- Clark, M.**
 The British Empire, Its Growth and Power. 1920.
- Clark, Sir W.**
 Great Britain – Progress and Prospects. 1933-34.
 Progress and Prospects in Britain. 1946-47.
- Clark, W.**
 Canada and the Empire. 1905-06.
 Empire Club of Canada and Its Ideal of Imperialism. 1903-04.
- Clark, W. C.**
 Current Business Situation. 1931.
- Clark, Sir W. H.**
 Canada and Great Britain. 1929.
- Clarke, C. K.**
 Mental Abnormalities – A Factor in Industry. 1923.
- Clarke, F.**
 The Commonwealth as Educator. 1933-34.
- Claxton, The Hon. Brooke**
 Men – Materials – Money for Canada's Defence. 1951.
 One Hundred Million Dollars for What? 1957.
- Claxton, E. P.**
 Education and Wealth. 1919.
- Clegg, H. H.**
 A Modern Crusade Against Crime. 1938-39.
- Clutterbuck, Hon. Sir Alex.**
 Looking Ahead in the Commonwealth. 1951.
 Outlook Today. 1948-49.
- Cobham, Viscount**
 Empire Relations. 1936-37.
- Cockcroft, Sir John**
 The Miracle of Atomic Energy. 1959.
- Cockshutt, C. G.**
 Business Action. 1949-50.
- Cockshutt, H.**
 British Empire Development. 1924.
 South American Impressions. 1927.
- Cockshutt, W. F.**
 Canada's Position in the Empire. 1904-05.
 Commercial Congress of the Empire at Sydney. 1909-10.
- Codd, L. A.**
 Munitions and Common Sense. 1934-35.
- Cody, H. J.**
 Empire Day. 1919.
 Growth and Genius of the British Empire. 1922.
 Guarding Our Heritage. 1939-40.
 History and Significance of the National Anthem. 1916-17.
 Palestine, Today and Tomorrow. 1929.
 Religious Contributions Towards Imperial Unity. 1908-09.
 Safeguarding of Imperial Democracy. 1913-14.
 The Forward Movement. 1920.
 The Northland of Canada. 1923.
 The Toronto University and the Public. 1932.
- Colbert, L. L.**
 A Centre of Confidence. 1957.
- Colbourne, M.**
 Bernard Shaw and the Empire. 1930.
 British Council. 1939-40.
 Future of the Legitimate Theatre. 1932.

- The Apple Cart and the British Empire. 1931.
- Colby, E.**
Food Situation Overseas. (W.W. I) 1917-18.
- Coldwell, M. J.**
Our Economic Relations with the United Kingdom. 1949-50.
Some Regional Problems of Canada. 1955.
- Cole, A. A.**
Importance of Mining Industry to Canada 1916-17.
Mineral Resources of Northern Ontario. 1923.
- Cole, W.**
London Under the Robot Bomb. 1944-45.
- Coleman, A. P.**
Gold and the Empire. 1906-07.
History of the Great Lakes and the Chicago Drainage Canal. 1923.
Mineral Resources of Ontario. 1904-05.
Ontario Mines and Miners. 1911-12.
- Coleman, J. S.**
Let's Free Trade. 1953.
Reporting to the Public. 1948-49.
- Collins, N.**
Social Implication of Television. 1948-49.
- Colonna, M.**
Italy and World Affairs. 1933-34.
- Constable, W. G.**
Why Waste Money on Art Galleries? 1938-39.
- Constantine, C. F.**
Canada's Defence Force — Its Relationship to the World Conflict. 1941-42.
- Cooper, Sir E. H.**
Strategic Position of Ulster. 1944-45.
- Cooper, J. A.**
Imperial Postage. 1906-07.
- Coote, W. and others**
The Irish Problem. 1920.
- Copland, Sir Douglas**
Changing Concepts of Commonwealth. 1954.
- Cordiner, R. J.**
New Challenges of North America's Fastest Decade. 1955.
- Corless, C. V.**
Canada Turning the Corner. 1929.
- Corry, Sir G. N.**
Our Indian Empire. 1926.
- Cosgrave, F. H.**
Sampel Pepys and His Time. 1927.
- Costain, Thomas B.**
A Glance at the Future. 1951.
- Coupland, R.**
The British Empire and the World Crisis. 1933-34.
- Coyne, J. E.**
The Financing of Economic Growth in Canada. 1956.
- Craig, J.**
Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Yukon. 1911-12.
- Cranston, Sir R.**
Empire Questions. 1906-07.
- Creighton, Luella, Berton, Pierre and Penfield, Dr. W.**
Addresses at a joint meeting with Smith's Literary Luncheon. 1954.
- Crerar, H. D. G.**
Need for Canadian Military Preparation. 1945-46.
Some Reminiscences of 1935-45. 1949-50.
- Crock, A.**
United States Economic Conditions. 1933-34.

Croft, Sir H. P.

Empire Unity – The Bulwark of Civilization. 1938-39.
Imperial Cooperation in Defence and Trade. 1912-13.

Cromie, R. J.

Our Times Viewed from a World Perspective. 1933-34.

Crombie, R. J.

World in Perspective. 1930.

Cromwell, J. H. R.

Issues at Stake. 1939-40.

Cronyn, H.

The Weak Spot in our Canadian Constitution. 1925.

Crosby, E. H.

Next Door Neighbours. 1905-06.

Cumberland, B.

Imperial Unity. 1903-04.

Cumberland, F. B.

Union Jack of the Empire. 1906-07.

Curran, J. W.

A Norseman Died in Ontario 900 Years Ago. 1938-39.

Currelly, C. T.

Canada's Relations with China. 1936-37.
Present Unrest in Egypt. 1921.

Currie, Sir A.

Conquest of National Fear.
Influence of Canadian Universities in Canadian Development. 1920.
Last Hundred Days of the War. 1919.
Political Situation in India. 1931.

Curtis, L.

Britain's Part in International Affairs. 1929.

Curtis, Air Marshal W. A.

Men and Missiles. 1958.

Dafoe, Dr. A. R.

The Country Doctor in Northern Ontario. 1935-36.

Dafoe, J. W.

Australian Politics. 1926.
Canada's New Northwest Development. 1929.
Roads to the Future. 1935-36.

Dancy, S. N.

Belgium's Heroic Resistance. (W.W. I) 1914-15.

Daniell, R. and Long, T.

Addresses by Canadian Correspondents for the New York Times. 1954.

Darling, Baron

A British View of Canada. 1926.

Davey, J. P.

Gallipoli. 1920.

David, D. K.

Mobilizing Our Ideas and Ideals. 1951.

David, L. A.

Quebec of Yesterday and Quebec of Tomorrow. 1920.

Davidson, Mrs. J. F.

Britain's New Responsibilities. 1935-36.

Davies, Rev. Dr. Emlyn

The Continuing World Conflict. 1963.

Davies, E. S.

Education and the Future of Civilization. 1935-36.

Davies, G. F.

Post-War Toronto. 1944-45.

Davies, T. H.

National and Social Reconstruction in Britain. 1917-18.

Our Nation Considered as an Ethical Ideal. 1922.

The Empire Club and Public Opinion. 1926.

Davis, John

British Films. 1953.

- Davis, N. V.**
Aluminum Limited and
International Trade. 1956.
- Day, J. P.**
Bank for International
Settlements. 1929.
- d'Egville, Sir H.**
Democracy and World
Affairs. 1937-38.
Imperial Defence. 1908-09.
War and Its Implications for
Canada and the Empire.
1940-41.
- d'Erlanger, Sir Gerard**
The Impact of Air Transport
on World Affairs. 1960.
- Deisher, W. N.**
Aircraft Industry in Canada
and the Future Develop-
ment of Jet Engines.
1948-49.
- Delme-Radcliffe, Sir C.**
Wild Animal Life in the
British Empire. 1931.
- De Lotbiniere, S. J.**
That Dragon Goebbels.
1943-44.
- Denison, G. T.**
German Peace Offer (W.W.
I). 1916-17.
Present Outlook and a
Parallel. 1917-18.
Relations of the United States
with Canada and Great
Britain. 1904-05.
- Denison, M.**
That Inferiority Complex.
1948-49.
- Dent, J. M.**
Britain at War (W.W. I).
1914-15.
- Denton, J. H.**
Systems of Law within the
Empire. 1909-10.
- Desborough, Baron**
Empire Sport. 1920.
- Devonshire, Duke of**
Citizenship. 1920.
- Dewhurst, Brigadier C.**
The Berlin Crisis. 1959.
The Struggle for the Middle
East. 1957.
- DeWitt, N. W.**
Canada in World History.
1936-37.
- DeYoung, H. G.**
The Resultant of Forces.
1963.
- D'Harcourt, E.**
Watch on the Rhine. 1944-45.
- Diefenbaker, The Hon. John G.**
British Commonwealth
Today. 1952.
Canada's Economic Position.
1963.
Is the Declaration of
Washington an Answer to
the Russian World
Economic Challenge?
1956.
Role of the Opposition in
Parliament. 1949-50.
Six Significant Weeks in
World History. 1945-46.
- Diemand, J. A.**
In Search of Knowledge.
1956.
- Dimsdale, Mrs. M.**
There are No Civilians in
London. 1940-41.
- Dinsdale, The Hon. W. G.**
The True North Strong and
Free. 1961.
- Dobbie, Sir W. G. S.**
Defence of Malta. 1944-45.
- Dobson, Sir Roy**
Canadian Aviation -
Its Potential. 1952.
- Doherty, C. J.**
Establishment of a Perman-
ent Court of International
Justice. 1921.
Some Things the (First
World) War Means.
1914-15.

- Dolan, D. L.**
Canada's Tourist Industry. 1938-39.
- Doman, N. R.**
Hungary at the Crossroads. 1939-40.
- Don, K.**
Complimentary luncheon to the famous British sportsman. 1931.
Race for the Harmsworth Trophy. 1932.
- Donald, Sir R.**
After War, Peace Complications, from the Viewpoint of Europe (W.W.I). 1920.
British Trade Relations with Canada. 1929.
- Donovan, A. E.**
Canadian Resources and Responsibilities. 1915-16.
- Donovan, W. J.**
Off the Record. 1940-41.
- Doolittle, General J. H.**
Combined Strength for Defence. 1955.
- Doolittle, P. E.**
Coast to Coast by Automobile. 1925.
- Douglas, L. C.**
Impatient Idealists. 1942-43.
- Douglas-Home, Sir Alec**
Diamond Jubilee Dinner. 1964.
- Douglas, T. C.**
British Commonwealth in a Bewildered World. 1947-48.
Canada - A Nation or a Satellite. 1964.
Saskatchewan's Post-War Plans. 1944-45.
- Downey, J. P.**
Empire Conditions and Problems. 1905-06.
- Draper, D. G.**
Good Citizenship. 1928.
- Drayton, Sir H. L.**
Our Mission - Sound Public Finance. 1933-34.
- Drew, The Hon. G. A.**
Britain Goes Over the Top. 1954.
Britain in the Third Year. 1941-42.
Britain Sees It Through. 1943-44.
Canada at the Crossroads. 1940-41.
Freedom's Crowning Hour. 1949-50.
From Moscow to Toronto (Communism in Canada). 1937-38.
Germany Prepares for Conquest. 1935-36.
Old Loyalties with New Meaning. 1952.
Ontario's Course is Clear. 1945-46.
Our Most Secret Hopes. 1942-43.
Prime Minister Reports. 1947-48.
Road to Victory. 1939-40.
Target for Tomorrow. 1944-45.
The Ides of March. (Hitler's advance into Czechoslovakia). 1938-39.
The Mining Riddle of the Canadian Northwest. 1933-34.
- Drury, Hon. C. M.**
The Canadian Department of Industry. 1964.
U.N.R.R.A. in Poland. 1946-47.
- Dubose, McNeely**
Building Frontiers with Aluminum. 1951.
- Duckworth, H. T. F.**
Position of Cyprus in the Empire. 1904-05.

- Dumoulin, J.**
Quebec, Old and New. 1943-44.
- DuMoulin, Bishop J. P.**
Two Pillars of the Empire. 1903-04.
Canada from East to West. 1910-11.
- Duncan, J. S.**
Communist China – Time for Reappraisal. 1959.
Education and the Cold War. 1956.
Europe Still Holds the Key. 1948-49.
Latin America on the March – A valuable Partnership. 1953.
The Dynamics of a Trade Mission. 1958.
The Formidable Reality of Khrushchev's Russia. 1960.
- Dunning, C. A.**
What Does Our Empire Mean to Us? 1937-38.
- Dunton, A. D.**
Canada and Television. 1952.
The Work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (with Andre Laurendeau). 1964.
- Dupre, M.**
Disarmament. 1933-34.
- Dupuis, N. F.**
British and the Metric Systems. 1906-07.
- Dutton, Sir F.**
Throne and Empire. 1925.
- Dwyer, M.**
Mining Industry in Nova Scotia and its Perils. 1936-37.
- Dymond, Hon. M. B.**
Ontario's Number One Health Problem. 1961.
- Eadie, T. W.**
Telephony – A New Era in the Making. 1953.
- Eastman, S. M.**
The Sino-Japanese Incident in Relation to the Problem of Disarmament and International Security. 1931.
- Eaton, C. A.**
Canada's Place in World Politics. 1916-17.
Democracy or Bolshevism. 1919.
The New Organ of Civilization (Industry). 1924.
- Eaton, Cyrus S.**
Canada's Opportunity – A Progressive Programme for Nation-wide Prosperity through Full Resource Development. 1950.
- Eby, C. S.**
Imperial Citizenship. 1908-09.
True Inwardness of the Yellow Peril. 1907-08.
- Eddy, C.**
Floods. 1936-37.
- Eden, Rt. Hon. Sir A.**
Address. 1946-47.
- Edgar, P.**
Thomas Hardy. 1928.
- Edinborough, A.**
Sex and Violence in the Bookstalls. 1960.
- Edwards, W. H.**
England's Greatest Needs. 1910-11.
- Eisendrath, Rabbi M. N.**
The Price of Brotherhood. 1956.
Wide, Wide World. 1958.
- Elgin, Earl of**
Democracies and Exhibitions. 1938-39.
- Elibank, Viscount**
Empire Trade. 1934-35.

- Elliott, W. Y.**
Federal India. 1932.
- Emery, J. A.**
Problems of Industry and Labour. 1906-07.
The Open Shop: Why Is It? Why Should It Prevail? 1921.
True Principles of National Life. 1907-08.
- Endicott, J. G.**
China, the Democratic Front in the Far East. 1941-42.
- Englehart, J. L.**
Greater Ontario. 1916-17.
- Erskine, J.**
Ideals of Music in the New World. 1946-47.
- Evans, A. E.**
Navy. 1941-42.
- Ewan, J. A.**
Railways and Grade Crossings. 1907-08.
- Eyston, G. E. T.**
The Land Speed Record. 1938-39.
- Fairclough, The Hon. Ellen L.**
Canadian Women as Citizens. 1957.
- Falconer, Sir R. A.**
Canada as a Field for the Solution of Imperial Problems. 1907-08.
Educational Services in the Canadian Army (W.W. I). 1917-18.
London, Paris, Geneva. 1925.
Present Conditions in Great Britain. 1921.
Work of the Universities of the Empire. 1912-13.
- Fallis, G.**
Vimy - Twenty Years After. 1936-37.
- Fallis, I. C.**
The Part We Play. 1939-40.
- Fallon, Bishop M. F.**
Charter of Liberty (Magna Carta). 1915-16.
- Farley, J. A.**
Our Common Mission. 1955.
- Faulkner, Farley and Associate**
Let's Find the Answer. 1953.
- Fauquier, J. E.**
R.C.A.F. Bomber Group in Action. 1945-46.
- Fauteux, Hon. G.**
Our Son's Heritage. 1954.
- Faversham, W.**
The (first World) War as it affects the Theatrical Profession. 1915-16.
- Favreau, Hon. Guy**
Unrest in French Canada. 1964.
- Fay, C. R.**
How Education Strengthens the Links of Empire. 1921.
Labour Situation in Great Britain. 1924.
Wheat Situation. 1930.
- Feinberg, Rabbi A. L.**
America, Britain and Canada - the ABC of Destiny. 1953.
- Ferguson, G. H.**
Canada's Destiny. 1940-41.
Canada's Representation at London. 1931.
Conditions in Britain and Europe. 1928.
Some Impressions of My Stay in England. 1935-36.
The Imperial Economic Conference. 1932.
- Ferguson, G. V.**
India Today. 1950.
- Ferguson, J.**
Imperial History. 1903-04.
- Ferguson, J. C.**
Present Conditions in China. 1943-44.
- Ferranti, B. Z. de**
North Atlantic Trade and Industry. 1960.

- Field, F. W.**
British Industry – Anglo-Canadian and Empire Trade. 1921.
- Finlay, J. H.**
The United States and the War (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Finlay, Lord Robert**
Some Imperial Problems. 1919.
- Finlayson, W.**
Northern Ontario. 1927.
- Fishbein, M.**
The Prolongation of Life. 1936-37.
- Fisher, J.**
Cobwebs. 1947-48.
John Fisher Reports. 1950-51.
- Fitzpatrick, Sir J. P.**
Conditions in South Africa. 1909-10.
- Fleck, Dr. A.**
The Changing Commonwealth. 1955.
- Fleming, Hon. D. M.**
Challenge We Face. 1945-46.
Dollars and Sense. 1958.
Expansion Without Inflation. 1959.
The Pulse of Western Europe. 1952.
Where the Iron Curtain Falls. 1948-49.
- Fleming, Sir S.**
Our Empire Cables. 1903-04.
- Fleury, Count S.**
Business and Politics. 1932.
- Floud, Sir F.**
Some Aspects of the Migration Problem. 1936-37.
- Flower, Sir A. D.**
Shakespeare's Birthplace. 1927.
- Foran, J. K.**
Thomas D'Arcy McGee as an Empire Builder. 1905-06.
- Forbes, Miss Rosita**
Dictators and Democrats. 1939-40.
- Ford, Henry II**
Some Impressions. 1952.
- Forde, F. M.**
Australia's Place in the British Commonwealth. 1946-47.
- Forneret, G. R.**
With Canada at the Front (W.W. I). 1915-16.
- Forsyth, Lionel Avar**
The Sun Rises in the East. 1953.
- Forsyth, C. H.**
Life and Medical Work on the Labrador. 1937-38.
- Fosdick, H. E.**
The Challenge of International Relations to North America. 1925.
- Foss, E. N.**
Relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.
- Foster, Sir G. E.**
Glimpses of the East. 1913-14.
Imperial Conference of 1907. 1907-08.
League of Nations and the First Assembly at Geneva. 1921.
Preferential Trade within the Empire. 1903-04.
Problems of Industry and Labour. 1906-07.
The European Situation. 1923.
Ties of Empire. 1925.
The (first World) War and Commerce. 1914-15.
Trade Preparation for the Coming Peace. 1916-17.
Trend of Empire. 1909-10.
- Fotitch, C.**
Small Nations in World Affairs and their Role in

- the Future Organization of the Peace. 1943-44.
- Foulkes, General C.**
Last Canadian Battle and the Surrender of the German Army. 1945-46.
The Future of Canadian Defence in the Nuclear Era. 1963.
- Fowler, R. M.**
Some Problems of Canadian Trade. 1960.
- Fox, W. S.**
Mussolini and the New Italy. 1932.
The Tennessee Valley Authority. 1938-39.
- Franca, Celia**
Canada's Artistic Boom. 1959.
- Fraser, Blair**
Gains and Losses in the Cold War. 1960.
Various Aspects of the Ottawa Scene. 1949-50.
- Fraser, I.**
Present Political Situation in England. 1931.
- Freedman, Max**
American Foreign Policy. 1951.
- Freedman, Hon. Mr. Justice S.**
Some Aspects of My Profession. 1961.
- French, Earl**
Greetings and Tributes to old Comrades-in-Arms: The Prospect for the Future. 1922.
- Frost, The Hon. Leslie M.**
Ontario - 1961. 1961.
- Frost, R.**
European Checkerboard. 1938-39.
Spotlight on Europe. 1937-38.
- Fry, T. F.**
Bonds of Commonwealth Life. 1923.
- Fuchs, Sir Vivian**
The Crossing of Antarctica. 1959.
- Fulton, The Hon. E. D.**
The Purpose of Parliament. 1957.
- Funston, G. K.**
More International Bridges. 1953.
- Fung, K. S.**
Axis Occupation of Holland. 1941-42.
- Fyfe, W. H.**
Fourteen Years of Peace. 1932.
- Garbett, C. F., Archbishop of York**
War Aims as Seen from Great Britain. 1943-44.
- Gardiner, F. G.**
Metro - Past, Present and Future. 1961.
Metropolitan Toronto. 1953.
- Gardiner, G. W.**
Britain at War (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Gardiner, J. G.**
Canada. 1951-52.
Canada and the Nations. 1947-48.
Conditions in the West. 1934-35.
Food. 1945-46.
The West and Canada's Problems. 1927.
- Garner, Sir Saville**
Britain, Today and Tomorrow. 1957.
- Garson, S. S.**
Empire, Canada and the Provinces. 1949
- Gathercole, G.**
Ontario's Economic Prospects. 1956.
- Gayn, Mark**
The Second Revolution in Russia. 1962.

- Geggie, A. L.**
Scotland's Contribution to the Empire. 1909-10.
- Gelber, L.**
Britain vs. Europe - The Schuman Plan and German Revival. 1950.
- Lloyd George, Lady Megan**
Today and Tomorrow in Britain. 1952.
- George, W. K.**
Canadian Industries, Preference and Reciprocity. 1904-05.
- Gibb, Sir A.**
Transportation. 1931.
- Gibbon, J. M.**
Canadian Letters and the New Canadian. 1923.
The Music of the People. 1929.
- Gibbons, Sir G. C.**
International Waterways Treaty. 1910-11.
- Gibbons, H. A.**
The United States Faces the Future. 1933-34.
- Gibson, C.**
Development of Air Power in Canada. 1945-46.
- Gilmour, Dr. G. P.**
A Canadian Looks at South Africa. 1956.
- Gilmour, J. T.**
The Delinquent. 1912-13.
- Gini, C.**
Demographic Policy of the Italian government. 1930.
- Glasgow, Sir T. W.**
Australia. 1940-41.
- Godbout, J. A.**
Quebec and Pan-Canadian Unity. 1940-41.
- Godfrey, H.**
The Creation of Wealth. 1927.
- Goforth, W. W.**
Situation in China. 1927.
The St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project: a Canadian View of its Economic Aspects. 1928.
- Goggin, D. J.**
North-West Autonomy. 1904-05.
Technical Education and Industrial Development. 1905-06.
- Goggin, V.**
Yesterday and Today in America. 1940-41.
- Goldring, Dr. C. C.**
Are the Schools Preparing Youth to Take Over? 1948-49.
Men, Music and Schools. 1955.
What Makes a Good School? 1954.
- Goldenberg, H. C.**
Economic Recovery in Great Britain and the United States. 1934-35.
Facing Facts in Labour Relations. 1952.
- Gompers, S.**
The Open Shop: What Is It? Why Should It Prevail? 1921.
- Good, W. G.**
Canada's Rural Problem. 1916-17.
- Goodeve, A. S.**
Present Conditions in British Columbia. 1910-11.
- Goodeve, Sir Charles F.**
Science Comes Outside the Laboratory. 1957.
- Gordon, C.**
Role of Transit in Community Planning. 1943-44.
- Gordon, C. W.**
Facing the Facts of the Present Situation (W.W. I). 1916-17.

- Gordon, Donald**
 Railway Highlights. 1954.
 Realism or Fatalism. 1962.
 Talking Shop. 1951.
- Gordon, D. M.**
 Imperial Intelligence Union.
 1906-07.
 University and the People.
 1903-04.
- Gough, A. W.**
 Difficulties and Opportunities
 of the British Empire.
 1921.
- Gouin, L. M.**
 A United Canada. 1919.
- Gould, B. A.**
 Win the War - The Next
 Step (W.W. I). 1916-17.
- Gould, S. H.**
 Present Crisis in Turkey.
 1908-09.
- Gourlay, R. S.**
 Some Aspects of Commercial
 Value to the City of
 Toronto of the Proposed
 Harbour Improvements.
 1912-13.
- Gow, J. G.**
 Rambles Through the British
 Empire. 1906-07.
- Gower-Rees, A. P.**
 Has the British Empire
 Completed its Task?
 1946-47.
 Nationalism, Its Values and
 Its Evils. 1929.
 Sharing the Responsibilities
 of Empire. 1943-44.
- Graham, Billy**
 Is There an Answer? 1955.
- Graham, Lt. Gen. Howard D.**
 What is the Future of Your
 Dollar? 1962.
- Graham, J.**
 Scottish Link in the Empire.
 1939-40.
- Grant, Sir J.**
 Outlook of Central Canada.
 1915-16.
- Grant, W. L.**
 Does Canada take the League
 of Nations Seriously?
 1933-34.
 Fallacy of Nationalism.
 1911-12.
- Grauer, A. E.**
 Regional Prospects and
 Problems in Western
 Canada. 1957.
- Greaves, Sir J. B.**
 The Cyprus Question. 1958.
- Greaves, W. H.**
 Public Speaking. 1924.
- Green, Rev. Canon Bryan**
 Faith of a Briton. 1952.
- Green, F. V.**
 Niagara Power and the
 Future of Ontario.
 1906-07.
- Green, Hon. H.**
 Canada in World Affairs.
 1959.
 Canada in the World of
 Today. 1962.
- Green, W.**
 Labour, Industry and the
 War. 1942-43.
- Greene, K. A.**
 Representation Abroad.
 1952.
- Greenfield, H.**
 Farmer Movement in Alberta
 Politics. 1922.
- Greenshields, R. A. E.**
 Our Present Perplexities.
 1935-36.
- Greenwood, H., First Viscount
 of Holbourne**
 British Diplomacy and
 Canadian Responsibilities.
 1907-08.
- Gregg, Hon. Milton F.**
 Canadian Labour in 1951.
 1951.
- Grenfell, W. T.**
 Story of Labrador Medical
 Mission. 1921.

Grey Owl

A Plea for the Canadian
Northland. 1936-37.

Grey-Wilson, Sir W.

Bahamas, West Indies,
Canada. 1911-12.

Grier, A. M.

Gilbert and Sullivan. 1932.
Qualities which go to make a
Good Citizen of the
Empire. 1903-04.
Toronto and Her Place in the
British Empire. 1911-12.

Grier, Sir E. W.

Canada and Imperial
Defence. 1905-06.
Two Views of Canadian Art.
1925.

Griesinger, W.

Department of Planning and
Development Functions
and Objectives. 1949-50.

Griffin, F.

The Tragedy of Spain.
1936-37.

Griffith, E. B.

Building a Seaport. 1963.

Grove, F. P.

Nationhood Within the
Empire. 1929.

Groves, H. M.

Unemployment Compensation
in Wisconsin. 1932.

Gruenther, Gen. A. M.

Men, Missiles and
Misunderstandings. 1960.

Guedella, P.

The Past and the Present.
1933-34.

Guglielmotti, E.

Italian Problem in the
Adriatic. 1919.

Guinness, R.

Canada's Contribution in
Men to the Imperial Navy.
1916-17.

Gundy, J. H.

The Forward Movement.
1920.

Guthrie, P.

United Canada's Answer to
the Call (W.W. I). 1916-17.

Guttery, A.

Democracy in War. 1917-18.

Hahn, J. E.

Development of Army
Equipment. 1942-43.

Hailey, Lord

British Colonies in the
Future. 1942-43.

Haldenby, E. W.

Battalion Commander's
Experience in the First
Year of the War. 1940-41.

Hall, Dr. G. E.

Who's Who and Why. 1958.

Hall, J. T.

Industrial Development of
the Last West. 1907-08.

Halton, M.

With the Canadians in
Normandy. 1944-45.

Hambro, C. J.

Norway in War and at the
Peace Conference. 1942-43.

Hamilton, C.

Our Responsibility to the
English-speaking Theatre.
1928.

Hamilton, C. F.

Imperial Naval Strategy.
1910-11.

Hammaraskjold, Dag

An Address. 1954.

Hammell, J. E.

Making a Mine in Canada.
1934-35.

Haney, J. P.

Industrial Education.
1907-08.

Hanna, D. B.

Development of the Cana-
dian West. 1907-08.

Hannam, H. H.

Farmer Takes a Hand in
World Affairs. 1949-50.

- Harding, G.**
Post-War Treatment of
Germany. 1944-45.
- Hardwicke, Sir C.**
The Theatre as a Desirable
Cultural Force. 1936-37.
The Theatre as We Know It.
1938-39.
- Hardy, E.**
Metropolitan Problems.
1949-50.
- Harkness, Hon. D.**
World Political Changes and
Their Effect on Defence.
1963.
- Harmon, F. S.**
Iron Curtain and the Silver
Screen. 1948-49.
- Harper, J. M.**
Canadian Assimilation.
1913-14.
Gospel of Peace. 1914-15.
- Harris, R. C.**
The (Toronto) City Planning
Project. 1929.
- Harris, W. R.**
Cradle Lands of Canadian
Indians. 1916-17.
- Hart, G. A. R.**
Looking Ahead. 1964.
Some Thoughts on the
Threshold of the New
Year. 1958.
- Harvey, J. C.**
Can We Achieve Canadian
Unity? 1938-39.
Free Men or Automats.
1945-46.
How Can We Build a Nation?
1939-40.
- Harvey, Sir J. M.**
Spirit and Cohesion of the
Empire. 1921.
- Harvey, M.**
Empire and Drama. 1913-14.
- Harvey, O. R.**
The Birthplace of Sound.
(Talking motion pictures.)
1930.
- Hawkes, A.**
Empire and Democracy.
1910-11.
- Hay, David O.**
Australia's New Frontiers.
1963.
- Hayman, Sir Graham**
The Next Decade. 1960.
- Heard, J. F.**
Sputniks. 1958.
- Hearst, W. H.**
Ontario's Place in the
Empire. 1912-13.
The (first) Great War.
1916-17.
- Heaton, E.**
Scientific Colonization –
A Suggestion. 1911-12.
- Heaton, E. P.**
Commercialism in Fire
Insurance. 1905-06.
- Heaton, H.**
Canadian-Australian
Contrasts. 1926.
- Heeney, A. D. P.**
Traditions and Trends in
Canada's Public Service.
1958.
United Nations Today and
Tomorrow. 1951.
- Hees, Hon. G. H.**
The Future of the Air
Industry in Canada. 1959.
- Heilperin, M.**
What Will the Baltic States
Do? 1939-40.
- Heller, Dr. W. W.**
Our Economic Prospects
and Policies. 1964.
- Hellyer, Hon. P. T.**
Canada's Defence. 1963.
Inflation vs. Unemployment.
1958.
- Helme, N. W.**
Empire Old and New.
1911-12.

- Henders, R. C.**
Post-War Constructive
Period from a Western
Viewpoint. 1919.
- Henderson, Larry**
The Soviet Challenge in Asia.
1960.
- Hendrie, Sir J.**
Chairman's address:
International Patriotic
Rally. 1917-18.
- Hepburn, M. F.**
Canadian Agriculture in the
War Effort. 1943-44.
Present-day Problems
(Ontario-Dominion
Relations). 1938-39.
- Herridge, W. T.**
(First World) War and the
Church. 1914-15.
Our National Outlook.
1904-05.
- Hewart, Baron**
The Newspaper Press. 1927.
- Hibbard, F. W.**
Control of Public Utilities.
1910-11.
- Hicks, S.**
Humour. 1928.
- Hill, C. B.**
Free Enterprise. 1947-48.
- Hill, H. G.**
Empire Relations – Personal
and Impersonal. 1926.
- Hincks, C. M.**
Experience on an Atlantic
Convoy. 1941-42.
- Hincks, W. H.**
England's Place Among the
Nations. 1909-10.
- Hislop, T. C. A.**
Some Impressions from a
Sister Dominion. 1952.
- Hobbs, F.**
A Gilbert and Sullivan
Repertoire. 1928.
Gilbert and Sullivan Operas.
1934-35.
- Hodder-Williams, R.**
The Return of the Turk.
1923.
- Hodgins, J. C.**
Outlook for Canada. 1922.
- Hoffman, C. von**
Jottings from an Explorer's
Notebook. 1935-36.
- Hoffman, P. G.**
1948 – A Year for Successful
Worrying. 1947-48.
- Hogg, T. H.**
Hydro and the St. Lawrence.
1939-40.
- Holding, W. F.**
Canada's Century If – .
1952.
- Holland, Sir R. E.**
Changing India. 1937-38.
- Holman, E.**
Freedom and Energy go
Together. 1951.
- Hopewell, C.**
Georgian Bay Waterway
Project. 1911-12.
- Hopkins, C.**
The Wider Patriotism.
1910-11.
- Hopkins, J. C.**
Continental Influences in
Canadian Development.
1906-07.
- Hopkins, J. J.**
Canada and the United States
– Partners in Freedom.
1951.
- Hopkins, O. B.**
Western Oil Flows Eastward.
1949-50.
- Hornby, M. L.**
British Settlement in Canada.
1933-34.
- Horne, A. N.**
Pipe Lines Canada and
Elsewhere. 1952.
- Horne, Sir R.**
Some After-War Problems –
Unemployment, Immigra-
tion, Reparations. 1923.

- Horning, L. E.**
Germany of Today. 1908-09.
- Hossack, D. C.**
British Politicians. 1907-08.
- Houston, W.**
Evolution of a Greater
Toronto. 1909-10.
- Howard, Sir E.**
International Affairs. 1926.
- Howe, Rt. Hon. C. D.**
Canada at War. 1940-41.
Canada's Coal Problem.
1946-47.
Munitions and More
Munitions. 1940-41.
Preparedness and the Cana-
dian Economy. 1950-51.
- Howse, Rev. E. M.**
The Christian Minority in
the World of Tomorrow.
1962.
- Hoyle, W. H.**
Imperial Development.
1912-13.
- Hughes, J. L.**
Modern Educational
Methods. 1907-08.
National and Ethical Value
of Cadet Training. 1911-12.
New Developments in
Education. 1905-06.
- Hughes, Sir Sam**
Defence of the Empire.
1904-05.
Short Review of My Visit to
the European Manoeuvres.
1913-14.
Some Observations on the
(first World) War. 1916-17.
- Hughes, Hon. S. H. S.**
Some Aspects of the Public
Service. 1960.
- Hume, Sir Nutcombe**
Peace Through Investment –
A Challenge to the
Capitalist Countries. 1960.
- Humphreys, J. H.**
Proportional Representation.
1915-16.
- Hunt, L.**
Anglo-American Freedom vs.
Russian Communism.
1947-48.
- Hunter, A. T.**
Canada and Imperial
Defence. 1905-06.
Condensed Militarism
in Canada. 1904-05.
Fatuous Insolence of the
Canadians. 1903-04.
- Hunter, F. F.**
India in Transition. 1931.
- Hurd, Sir P.**
The New Empire
Partnership. 1932.
- Hurley, Col. J. J.**
Ceylon and the Colombo
Plan. 1955.
- Huston, W.**
Experiences on the Stage.
1934-35.
- Hutchins, Dr. R. M.**
The University and the
Republic. 1959.
- Hutton, G.**
Problems of the British
Empire. 1937-38.
- Hutton, M.**
Canadian National
Character. 1903-04.
- Hyland, A. E.**
The Australian Good-Will
Party. 1931.
(Address on Canadian-
Australian Trade.)
- Ignatieff, N.**
Canada's Challenge to its
Youth. 1937-38.
- Ignatieff, Count P.**
Russia. 1931.
- Illiff, Sir. W.**
Fifteen Years at the World
Bank. 1962.
- Imrie, J. M.**
A Canada Forward Policy.
1925.

- New Markets in the Orient.
1931.
- Our National Task. 1935-36.
- Inglehart, A. S.**
Growing Pains. 1952-53.
- Ingram, A. F. W.**
How England Meets Her
Difficulties. 1931.
- Innes, A. W.**
Fighting in Burma. 1944-45.
- Insull, S.**
Neighbours Across the
Border. 1930.
- Inverclyde, Lord**
Heroes of the British
Merchant Fleet. 1946-47.
- Ironside, Sir W. E.**
India and the Empire.
1935-36.
- Irvine, Sir J.**
Chemistry in War Time.
1932.
- Irving, L.**
Drama as a Factor in
Social Progress. 1913-14.
- Jackson, A. Y.**
Two Views of Canadian Art.
1925.
- Jackson, G.**
Man-made Remedies for a
Man-made Depression.
1933-34.
- Jackson, G. E.**
Anti-Semitism. 1939-40.
- Jacobs, S.**
Jews and Patriotism. 1915-16.
- Jaenicke, Dr. J.**
Challenge to Germany—
1961. 1961.
- James, C. C.**
Agriculture of the Province.
1913-14.
The Peopling of Ontario.
1910-11.
- James, F. C.**
The Future of the Empire.
1957.
- Inflation and War Finance.
1940-41.
- Money Makes the Mare to
Go. 1947-48.
- We Take Our Stand. 1948-49.
- Jarvis, Alan**
A World Without Frontiers.
1956.
- Jays, T.**
Problems of Empire in West
Africa. 1911-12.
- Jebb, Sir G.**
The United Nations as a
Force for Peace and
Prosperity. 1951.
- Jebb, R.**
Some Aspects of Imperialism.
1905-06.
- Jellett, R. P.**
Canadian Economy and Its
International Aspects.
1947-48.
- Jellicoe, Earl**
British Navy. 1919.
Address on Empire. 1931.
Special luncheon given in
honour of Earl Jellicoe.
- Jenks, C. W.**
I.L.O. Looks Forward.
1943-44.
- Jerrold, D.**
Present Condition of
England. 1949-50.
The World Situation. 1950.
- Jewell, N. L. A.**
Secret Mission. 1944-45.
- Jodoin, C.**
The Canadian Labour
Congress and Free Trade
Unions Throughout the
World. 1957.
The Challenge of 1963. 1963.
- Johns, A.**
China—Its People and Their
Life. 1917-18.
- Johnson, E. S.**
Embattled Britain. 1940-41.

- Johnson, P. G.**
Trans-Canada Air Lines.
1938-39.
- Johnston, E. F. B.**
A Study of the Kaiser.
1916-17.
- Johnston, Eric**
The Motion Picture Looks
Ahead. 1961.
- Jolliffe, E. B.**
Chinese Nationalism, Old
and New. 1958.
- Jones, Hon. J. W.**
Parva Sub Ingenti - Small
Under the Great. 1952.
- Jones, Oakah L.**
Natural Gas Comes to
Toronto. 1955.
- Jones, S. A.**
Fascism. 1933-34.
- Jones, Stanley N.**
The British Commonwealth
and Canadian Wheat. 1954.
- Joshi, S. L.**
New Forces in Old India. 1921.
- Judson, H. P.**
Spirit of the States in the
Great War (W.W. I).
1917-18.
- Kahn, O. H.**
An International Survey.
1924.
- Kassarji, L. G.**
Pan-Arab Movement and the
Sterling Bloc. 1945-46.
- Kauffman, H.**
Denmark Under the Nazi
Heel. 1943-44.
- Kavanagh, J. E.**
Family Life of Big Business.
1937-38.
- Keenleyside, H. L.**
Canadian Immigration
Policy. 1948-49.
- Kellen, W. B.**
Fraternal Greetings from
Uncle Sam. 1921.
- Kelly, J. H.**
National Importance of the
Salmon Industry. 1928.
- Kelso, J. J.**
Play Spirit and Playgrounds
in Toronto. 1907-08.
- Kemp, J. F.**
Technical Education.
1911-12.
- Keppel-Jones, Prof. A. M.**
The Problems and Future of
South America. 1954.
- Ketchen, B.**
Canada's Indebtedness to the
Motherland. 1936-37.
- Ketchum, C. J.**
Russia. 1933-34.
- Keys, D. A.**
The Peacetime Applications
of Atomic Energy. 1955.
- Keyes, Sir R.**
Lessons of Naval History.
1934-35.
- Keys, D. R.**
First Great English
Imperialist. 1904-05.
- Keyserlingk, R. W.**
Between the Iron and the
Ice Curtain. 1949-50.
What Is Canada's Position in
the World Today? 1946-47.
- Khan, Sir M. Z.**
India's Position in the War.
1942-43.
- Kiang Kan-Hu**
Prospect of Cultural
Relations between China
and Canada. 1930.
- Kierans, Eric**
Quebec - Problems of
Growth. 1963.
- Kiernan, Dr. T. J.**
The Irish Mind. 1957.
- King, H.**
The British Answer to
Communism. 1955.
- King, R. A.**
Political Situation in India.
1922.

King, The Rt. Hon. W. L. M.
Four Parties to Industry.
1919.

King-Hall, S.
Britain and the Future.
1943-44.
United Europe. 1947-48.

Kingsley, D. P.
Woodrow Wilson and the
Doctrine of Sovereignty.
1917-18.

Kinsman, R. D. L.
Some Important Aspects of
Canada's International
Trade. 1960.

Kirkconnell, W.
Canada and Immigration.
1943-44.

Kirkpatrick, A. E.
Address to Winnipeg Unit
of Empire Club. 1926.

Kirkpatrick, G. B.
Our Northern Heritage.
1905-06.

Kisch, F. H.
Palestine Today. 1929.

Knollys, Viscount
Britain Today and
Tomorrow. 1958.

Knowles, R. E.
Two Tokens of National
Progress. 1912-13.

Knowles, S. H.
The Role of the Opposition
in Parliament. 1957.

Kornfeld, J. S.
Great Britain and America
in the Service of the
World. 1925.

Kraft, L.
Africa South of the Sahara.
1947-48.

Kylie, E. J.
Menace of Socialism.
1908-09.
Present Position of the
Imperial Problem. 1912-13.

Lacoste, His Excellency Francis
The Algerian Issue. 1958.
Peoples and Nations in a
Changing World. 1961.
The Present Day Spirit in
France. 1956.

Laffer, H. E.
The Australian Good-Will
Party. 1931.
(Address on Canadian-
Australian Trade.)

Laing, G. B.
Education Today – Are We
In Tune with the Times?
1950.

Lamb, D. C.
Population Problems.
1937-38.

Lamport, A. and Parkin, J. C.
Planning for Transportation
in the Metropolitan
Community. 1959.

Lange, V.
The New Germany. 1932.

Langford, G. B.
Educating a Democracy.
1942-43.
Ontario's Post-War Planning
Needs. 1944-45.

Langlier, C. J.
Forest Wealth of Canada.
1906-07.

Lank, H. H.
Education and Industry.
1955.

Larke, J. S.
Australia – Political and
General Conditions.
1905-06.

Lascelles, F.
The Dynasts. 1915-16.

Lash, Z. A.
Canada's Foreign Affairs.
1916-17.

Lattimore, O.
Would a Russo-Japanese War
be another World War?
1933-34.

- Laurendeau, A. and Dunton, D.**
The Work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. 1964.
- Lawrence, Sir J.**
Tariff Reform Policy for England. 1910-11.
- Lawson, Dr. F. L.**
Emergency in the Congo. 1962.
- Leacock, S. B.**
Education and Empire Unity. 1906-07.
Proper Limitations of State Interference. 1924.
Riddle of the Depression. 1933-34.
- Leather, Sir E.**
What Good is the Commonwealth? 1964.
- Lee, C. F.**
Development of Aircraft in War. 1917-18.
- Le Maistre, C. D.**
Empire Trade Requires Uniform Standards. 1932.
- Leng, Sir J.**
Some Aspects of Imperialism. 1905-06.
- Lesage, Hon. J.**
Canadian Resource Policy. 1956.
Quebec's Place in World Economy. 1960.
- Leverhulme, Viscount**
Education and Commerce. 1919.
- Lighthall, W. D.**
Toronto and Town Planning. 1910-11.
- Lincoln, L. A.**
Good Health is Good Business. 1952.
- Lindal, W. J.**
Our Democratic Heritage. 1938-39.
- Lindley, Sir F. O.**
Diplomacy. 1931.
- Lindsay, Sir R.**
English Landscape and Personality. 1931.
- Linstead, Sir H. N.**
Egypt. 1956.
- Litchfield, P. W.**
The Dangers and Opportunities We Share. 1954.
- Lithgow, Sir J.**
Trade Within the Empire. 1931.
- Little, E. M.**
Expanding Trade - The Positive Approach to Economic Growth. 1963.
- Liu, S. S.**
China and the Post-War World. 1943-44.
Fight for Democracy in China. 1942-43.
- Livingstone, L. D.**
Twenty-five Years Amongst the Eskimos. 1945-46.
- Livingstone, Sir R. W.**
Adult Education. 1945-46.
Public School Influence on British Character. 1927.
- Llewellyn, J. J.**
St. George and Canada. 1942-43.
- Lloyd, G. A.**
The Indian Empire: Tariff Reform. 1910-11.
- Lloyd, T.**
Tariff Relations within the British Empire. 1930.
- Lloyd George, Earl**
(The Lloyd George meetings.)
The Empire and World War I. 1923.
- Lloyd George, Lady Megan**
Today and Tomorrow in Britain. 1951-52.
- Logan, M. M.**
Peace Among the Nations. 1930.

- Long, M.**
Europe is Dying. 1949-50.
A Tourist's View of Ireland.
1956.
- Long, Tania and Daniell, R.**
Addresses by the Canadian
Correspondents for the
New York Times. 1954.
- Long, W. H.**
Imperial Trade and Imperial
Defence. 1912-13.
- Longrigg, Brig. S.**
Oil, Power, Politics and the
Arab Awakening. 1959.
- Lord, A.**
Fraternal Greetings from
Uncle Sam. 1921.
- Lord, W. F.**
Journalism in England.
1906-07.
- Lothian, Marquess of**
Our Indian Partner. 1933-34.
The Political Future in
England. 1934-35.
- Lougheed, W. F.**
Leviathan or Post-War
Trends in Government
and Business. 1947-48.
- Lovink, His Excellency A. H. J.**
A Faith for the Free. 1952.
- Low, S. E.**
Commonwealth that Will
Endure. 1946-47.
- Lowther, J. W.**
The Mother of Parliaments.
1921.
- Luckner, Count F. von**
The New Germany. 1932.
- Lund, F. E.**
Race Relations in Practice.
1958.
- Lynch, C. B.**
Is Diplomacy Really
Necessary? 1957.
- Lynch-Staunton, G.**
The Ontario View of the
St. Lawrence Waterway
Scheme. 1928.
- Lyon, S.**
My Experiences at the Front
W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Lyons, J. A.**
The Australian Situation.
1935-36.
- Macallum, A. B.**
New Organization for
Industrial and Scientific
Research. 1916-17.
- Macaulay, T. B.**
Empire Trade. 1930.
- Macdonald, Dean H. I.**
Inside the Common Market.
1961.
- Macdonald, J. A.**
America's Greatest
Achievement. 1914-15.
Business Man and the
Churches. 1907-08.
- MacDonald, M.**
Defence of Liberty - There
and Here. 1941-42.
Empire in These Days.
1942-43.
Present Situation. 1944-45.
- MacDonald, Miss S.**
Why Paint in War-Time?
1942-43.
- Macdonnell, J. M.**
Some War-time Business and
Financial Problems.
1939-40.
- Macfarland, B. F.**
Supreme Court of the World.
1913-14.
- Macfarlane, J. A.**
The Modern Medical School
- Its Aims and Obligations.
1955.
- Mackey, Hon. Lt. Col. J. K.**
Shakespeare and the Bible.
1950.
The Battle Lines of the
1914-18 War Revisited.
1962.

MacKendrick, W. G.

Allenby's Campaign as Laid
Down in the Bible. 1922.
British Front in the Great
Offensive (W.W. I).
1917-18.

Henry Ford as I Knew Him.
Summary only.) 1923.

Mackenzie, Sir C.

War Nears New Zealand.
1941-42.

MacLagan, Sir E. R. D.

Effect of War on British
Culture. 1948-49.

Maclean, W. F.

A Greater Toronto. 1907-08.
State Ownership of Railways.
1904-05.

MacLennan, D. A.

Exile's View of Canada.
1951-52.

Macleod, N. M.

National Policy - 1939
Version. 1938-39.
Pages From the Notebook
of an Ottawa Corres-
pondent. 1941-42.
Stock-taking for the Post-
War. 1944-45.
The Handwriting on the Wall.
(Cdn. politics.) 1937-38.

MacMillan, A.

Sir Walter Scott as an
Empire-Builder. 1909-10.

MacMillan, Baron

Industrial Conditions in the
Homeland. 1928.
The Commerce of Ideas.
1933-34.

Macmillan, Sir E.

Enjoyment of Music. 1951.

Macmillan, H.

Europe 1937: Prospect and
Retrospect. 1936-37.

Macmillan, J. W.

Ontario Minimum Wage Bill.
1921.
Problems of Population.
1911-12.

MacNamara, J. R. J.

Spain - Its Internal Issues
and Repercussions as
Affecting the British
Empire. 1938-39.

MacNaughton, J.

One Thing Needful. 1919.
The Old Country
Re-visited. 1921.

MacNeill, J.

Abraham Lincoln. 1925.

Macnicol, J. R.

Alaska Highway and Post-
War Reconstruction.
1942-43.

The Disastrous Depletion of
the Great Lakes. 1936-37.

Macphail, Sir A.

The Farmer, 1920.
The Goat and the Vine.
(W.W. I). 1934-35.

MacPhail, A.

Psychology of the
Suffragette. 1909-10.

Macqueen, F. W.

Imperialistic Canada.
1912-13.

Madden, T. J.

The British Empire. 1910-11.

Magill, R.

International Trading in
Grain. 1928.

Magrath, C. A.

A Sane Scheme of
Colonization. 1928.

Maharrij, T.

Turkey. 1912-13.

Maheux, A.

Canada Victorious, Happy
and Glorious. 1942-43.
Was the King Right? 1948-49.

Mahsi, Y.

Political Situation in India.
1924.

Malik, S. H. S.

India. 1939-40.
New India. 1948-49.

Maloney, A. and Sedgwick, J.
The Death Penalty – For
and Against. 1954.

Mann, C. C.
Conclusions as to the Future.
1948-49.

Mann, K.
The Reich and the German
Majorities. 1938-39.

Manning, C. E.
Canadian Immigration and
Consequent Problems.
1909-10.

Marburg, T.
Certain Features of the
Paris Constitution.
(League of Nations.) 1919.

Maresch, R. A. R.
Present Situation in the
Balkans. 1939-40.

Marix, R. L. G.
Some Aspects of the R.A.F.
Transport Command.
1943-44.

Markowitz, J.
Some Experiences as a
Medical Officer with the
Royal Army Medical
Corps. 1946-47.

Marshall, C. A.
The Russian Situation. 1924.

Marshall, D. M.
Future of Agriculture in
Alberta. 1920.

Marshall, L. H.
Chivalry in the British
Empire. 1926.

Martin, G. A. and Bull, H. H.
Is This Justice? 1957.

Martin, J. S.
Canada's Future as an
Agricultural Country.
1924.
Links of Empire. 1927.

Martin, Hon. Paul
Canada – A World Partner.
1955.

Difficulties of the United
Nations in Maintaining
the Peace. 1964.

Some Considerations in
Canadian Foreign Policy.
1959.

The New Face of the United
Nations. 1960.

Martin, W. G.
Australia Looks Ahead.
1945-46.

To the Top of the World with
the Eastern Arctic Patrol.
1935-36.

Masaryk, J.
Conflicts of Doctrines in
Europe. 1938-39.
Real New Order. 1941-42.

Mason, J.
Canada and Imperial
Defence. 1905-06.

Mason, J. E.
Darkest America and the
Way Out. 1911-12.

Massey, R.
Future of the Theatre.
1933-34.

Massey, V.
The Manchurian Crisis.
1932.

Massie, R.
The Artillery at
Passchendaele. 1917-18.

Mathers, F. D.
Build Industry – Build
Canada. 1962.

Matheson, J. A.
The Island Province – Its
Present and Future.
1912-13.

Mathewson, J. A.
Quebec. 1939-40.

Mathieson, G. S.
State and Foreign Trade.
1946-47.

Matsudaira, Hon. K.
Japan's Position in the Far
East. 1955.

- Matthews, R. C.**
Let's Play Cricket. 1936-37.
- Mavor, J.**
Constitutional Problem in
Russia. 1908-09.
Russia. 1916-17.
Russo-Japanese War.
1903-04.
- Mavor, W.**
Experiences of an Infantry-
man at the Front (W.W. I).
1917-18.
- Mawson, Sir D.**
Antarctic Exploration.
1914-15.
- May, C.**
The Art that Conceals Art.
(Speaking; Dickens.)
1935-36.
- May, J. M.**
Indo-China and the Japanese.
1940-41.
- Mazzoleni, E.**
Music and Musicians.
1949-50.
Music and Peace. 1946-47.
- McArthur, D.**
Education and the Empire.
1940-41.
- McArthur, P.**
Canadian Empire Builders.
1916-17.
- McBride, Sir R.**
Canada and the Empire.
1913-14.
- McBrien, Sir J. H.**
Development of Aviation
Within the Empire. 1929.
Future of Aviation in
Canada. 1927.
The Royal Canadian
Mounted Police. 1937-38.
- McCaffrey, J. L.**
Looking Ahead. 1954.
- McCallum, A. B.**
The Research Council and
Its Work. 1916-17.
- McClain, B. H.**
Importance of the
Mesopotamian Campaign
to the British Empire.
1917-18.
- McClellan, Dep.-Com. G. B.**
The Law is Your Business.
1962.
- McClure, R. B.**
Canada's Place in the Pacific
Basin. 1946-47.
- McColl, J. H.**
Australian Politicial
Development. 1908-09.
- McCrea, C.**
Canadian Minerals in Peace
and War. 1937-38.
Development of the Mineral
Industry in Ontario. 1924.
Ontario's Mining Industry
and Its Outlook for 1932.
1932.
- McCreary, J. F.**
Condition of Civilians in
Western Europe at the
Conclusion of the German
Occupation. 1946-47.
- McCrimmon, A. L.**
English-Speaking Peoples.
1925.
Some War Revelations
(W.W. I). 1914-15.
- McCullagh, G.**
Testing Time. 1949-50.
- McCulley, Joseph**
The University - Yesterday,
Today, and? 1957.
- McCullough, C. R.**
Canadian Clubs and
Canadian Problems.
1910-11.
- McEachern, R. A.**
Back From Russia. 1956.
Mid-Century Look Forward
and Backward. 1949-50.
Rocks on the Road Ahead.
1961.

- McGeachy, J. B.**
Our Parliament, its Organization and Work. 1955.
- McGeer, G. G.**
Canada's Place in World Affairs. 1937-38.
- McGillen, Pete**
If You're Too Busy to Go Fishing – You're Too Busy. 1952.
- McGoun, A.**
What Canada can Give for a British Preference. 1905-06.
- McGregor, G.**
International Aviation – An Empire Tie. 1948-49.
- McGregor, G. R.**
The Farnborough Show. 1954.
- McInnis, E. W.**
Difficulties of the Axis. 1940-41.
- McKay, R. P.**
India and the Far East. 1907-08.
- McKeand, D. L.**
Canada's Eastern Arctic. 1942-43.
Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1939-40.
- McKenzie, D. G.**
Challenge of Democracy. 1939-40.
- McKinnon, J. S.**
A Canadian's View of the Empire as Seen from London. 1926.
- McLaren, E. D.**
Our National Aspirations. 1905-06.
- McLaurin, J. B.**
India's Future in the Empire. 1925.
- McLean, S. J.**
Some Considerations of Railway Regulation. 1908-09.
- McLellan, A. N.**
Television – Progress and Promise. 1949-50.
- McLennan, J. C.**
Science and Industrial Research in Canada. 1916-17.
- McMullen, J.**
Relations with the United States. 1906-07.
- McMurray, E. J.**
Thomas D'Arcy McGee. 1925.
- McNaughton, Gen. A. G. L.**
Canada's Land and Air Forces. 1929.
Boundary Waters Between Canada and the United States. 1951.
- McNeil, N.**
British Columbia. 1912-13.
- Mead, Dr. Margaret**
How Fast Can Men Change? 1957.
- Medina, His Honor Judge H. R.**
A Look at America. 1958.
- Meighen, A.**
The (first World) War. 1914-15.
- Mercer, S. A. B.**
Ethiopia and Its Problems. 1935-36.
- Merchant, His Excellency L. T.**
The World Around Us. 1962.
Some Aspects of Modern Diplomacy. 1957.
- Mercier, Cardinal D. J.**
German Occupation of Belgium. 1919.
- Merriman, Sir F. B.**
The Symbol of Admiralty Jurisdiction. 1935-36.
- Merritt, W. H.**
A Weak Link in the Imperial Chain. 1909-10.
- Mess, J.**
What Is the British Point of View? (International affairs.) 1938-39.

- Metcalf, G.**
Centennial Business is Your Business. 1963.
- Meyer, D. deW.**
Racial Relations in the Union of South Africa. 1939-40.
- Michell, W. A. R.**
With Shackleton to the Antarctic. 1909-10.
- Michener, Hon. D. R.**
The House of Commons from the Speaker's Chair. 1958.
- Miller, A. L.**
Palestine in Retrospect and Prospect. 1938-39.
- Miller, E.**
The Significant Four Years Ahead. 1956.
- Miller, W. G.**
Mineral Industries of Canada. 1909-10.
- Milligan, G. M.**
Imperialism. 1906-07.
- Mills, W. L.**
Our Country - Its Dangers and Its Needs. 1906-07.
- Minehan, L.**
Civil Service Reform. 1906-07.
- Mitchell, C. H.**
Survey of the Empire; Its Problems and Prospects. 1921.
- Mitchell, J.**
Tariff Relations within the British Empire. 1930
- Mitre, J.**
Canadian Commercial Opportunities in Argentine. 1917-18.
- Miyaoka, T.**
Growth of Representative Government in Japan. 1917-18.
- Moir, Miss P.**
Winston Churchill. 1941-42.
- Molson, A. H.**
Certain Phases of the Empire. 1926.
- Mond, Sir A.**
Empire Development. 1923.
- Monkhouse, A.**
Present Position of the U.S.S.R. 1934-35.
- Monsarrat, N.**
The Commonwealth in the Twentieth Century. 1953.
- Montague, W. H.**
Thoughts About Canada and Australia. 1903-04.
Relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.
- Montrose, Duke of**
Scottish Trade Mission. 1932.
- Mooney, G. S.**
U.N.R.R.A. Reports on Europe. 1945-46.
- Mooney, J. D.**
International Trade. 1933-34.
- Moore, E. S.**
The Coal Situation. 1923.
Royal Society Empire Scientific Conference. 1946-47.
- Moore, H. Napier**
Does Life Exist After Marriage? 1933-34.
How to Make a Christmas Speech. 1947-48.
So It's Dulles Ditchwater. 1956.
The Melancholy of Laughter. 1934-35.
- Moore, Sir N.**
Our Economic Dependence on Mining. 1933-34.
- Moore, R. W.**
Application of the Principles of Democracy to Industry's Labour Relations. 1939-40.
- Moore, T.**
International Labour Conference (1921). 1922.
Labour's Contribution to Community Progress. 1926.

- Some Aspects of the Unemployment Problem and the Present Russian Trade Proposals. 1931.
- Moore, W. H.**
Our Trade Channels. 1928.
Social Order. 1942-43.
This Planning Business. 1933-34.
- Morgan, A. E.**
Is Democracy Outworn? 1936-37.
- Morgan, B. H.**
Progress of Imperial Preference. 1921.
- Morine, A. B.**
Newfoundland Fisheries Question. 1906-07.
Parliament Crisis in the United Kingdom. 1909-10.
Relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.
- Morison, J. L.**
Will Britain Retain India? 1921.
- Morley, F. S.**
The Philosophy of Canada's Position in the British Empire. 1936-37.
- Morris, Sir D.**
West Indian Recollections and Conditions. 1907-08.
- Morris, Sir E. P.**
Relations of the United States With Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.
- Morrow, C.**
Four Nations (North American History). 1934-35.
- Morse, Wayne**
Democracy and the Legislative Process. 1951.
- Mosely, A.**
Canada and British Tariff Reform. 1905-06.
- Mott, J. R.**
Significance of South America to Canada. 1940-41.
- Mudaliar, B.**
The India of Tomorrow. 1933-34.
- Mulloy, L. W. R.**
Duty of Canada and her Sons to the Empire (W.W. I). 1915-16.
- Munro, H. F.**
Freedom of the Seas. 1930.
World Politics of Canada and the Empire. 1928.
- Murray, G.**
Canada and the Empire of Tomorrow. 1943-44.
Only Way to Save Civilization. 1948-49.
Plague of Pessimism. 1949-50.
Should Broadcasting be Controlled? 1933-34.
- Murray, J. P.**
Flying of Flags in Canada. 1906-07.
- Mutchmor, Rt. Rev. Dr. J. R.**
The Challenge of Today's Affluent Society. 1962.
- Neel, Boyd**
Music and the Empire. 1953.
- Neff, G. C.**
Can Canada Remain British? 1936-37.
- Neil, J.**
Canadian Army as I Saw It (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Neill, Bishop S.**
Threatened Christendom. 1962.
- Nehru, Ambassador B. K.**
India - Today and Tomorrow. 1961.
- Nelson, J.**
Oriental Immigration. 1923.
Pacific Problems and Canada's Part in Them. 1925.

- The Old Romance in Canada. 1928.
- Nesbitt, W.**
Canada Within the Empire. 1921.
- Neville, John**
Challenge of Our Time. 1956.
- Neville, R. S.**
British Diplomacy. 1908-09.
Canadian Cable to Japan: Its Commercial and Imperial Value. 1908-09.
Imperial Organization. 1915-16.
- Newbolt, Sir H.**
Songs of the Fleet. 1923.
- Newlands, J. C.**
Public Speaking—Good, Bad, and Indifferent. 1922.
- Newman, B.**
How Goes the War? 1942-43.
- Newman, P. C.**
What Is Wrong With Parliament. 1963.
- Newton, A. P.**
Universities and Commerce. 1919.
- Ney, F. J.**
Commonwealth on Trial. 1948-49.
Empire in Africa and the Middle East. 1945-46.
- Nicholls, F.**
Niagara's Power—Past, Present, Prospective. 1904-05.
- Noon, Sir F.**
Britain in India. 1938-39.
- Norstad, General L.**
NATO Strategy. 1959.
- Norwood, F. W.**
A Briton Looks at the World. 1934-35.
Canada in Crisis—As seen by an Australian. 1940-41.
International Relations. 1930.
- Noxon, W. C.**
Some Impressions of Empire Settlement. 1922.
- Nye, Lt. Gen. Sir A.**
Some Aspects of the Commonwealth. 1953.
- Nye, G. P.**
Munitions. 1934-35.
- Odell, N. E.**
The Assault on Everest. 1928.
- O'Farrell, P. A.**
Stabilization of Money. 1931.
- Ogilvy, D.**
Should Advertising be Abolished? 1963.
- O'Hagan, T.**
Belgium and the Belgians. 1914-15.
Dickens Centenary. 1911-12.
- O'Hara, G.**
Jazz—Whence? Why? Whither? 1924.
- O'Keefe, Sir M.**
Illustrations of the Beneficent Effect of British Rule. 1922.
- Olav, Crown Prince**
Rape of Norway. 1940-41.
- O'Leary, M. G.**
Democracy Begins at Home. 1949-50.
Democracy Limited. 1936-37.
The Public and the Politicians. 1933-34.
- Oliver, F.**
Canada and her Wheat. 1930.
- Oliver, R. E.**
Human Relations and You. 1947-48.
- O'Neill, Capt. Rt. Hon. T.**
A Northern Ireland Point of View. 1964.
- Orsborn, A.**
Salvationist's World Outlook. 1947-48.
- O'Ryan, J. F.**
Some Reflections on the War (W.W. I). 1924.

- Osborne, H. C.**
Canadian Patriotism. 1904-05.
Flying of Flags in Canada. 1906-07.
Imperial Ignorance. 1903-04.
The Great Remembrance (Imperial War Graves Commission). 1929.
- Otter, Sir W. D.**
Efficiency of the Canadian Militia for Defence. 1913-14.
- Owen, D. T.**
Spirit of the Pioneers Today. 1933-34.
Leadership. 1934-35.
- Page, A. W.**
American Foreign Policy. 1923.
- Page, Sir E.**
Australia and the Empire. 1938-39.
- Paish, Sir G.**
World Danger and the Way Out. 1931.
World's Financial Situation. 1920.
- Palmer, J. W.**
Experiences in a Japanese Internment Camp. 1942-43.
- Pankhurst, Mrs. E.**
The (first World) War and the Sons and Daughters of the Empire. 1917-18.
- Parker, C. G.**
Let's Be Friends. 1954.
- Parker, Sir. G.**
Views on the General Situation in Great Britain. 1923.
- Parker, S. C.**
Canada's War in the Air. 1942-43.
- Parkin, G. R.**
Educational Problems and Responsibilities of the Empire. 1912-13.
Relations of Canada and the United States. 1907-08.
- Parkin, J. C. and Lampport, A.**
Planning for Transportation in the Metropolitan Community. 1959.
- Parks, W. A.**
Cobalt Mineral Conditions. 1906-07.
- Parsons, S. R.**
British Empire Exhibition: A Study in Geography, Resources, and Citizenship of the British Empire. 1924.
International Labour Conference in Washington. 1920.
- Partridge, A. G.**
Conditions in Great Britain and America. 1935-36.
- Paton, W.**
Prospects of International Order. 1941-42.
- Patterson, Tom**
Canada's Big League Theatre. 1956.
- Patton, F. L.**
The War and National Life. 1917-18.
- Pattullo, T. D.**
British Columbia and Confederation. 1937-38.
Dominion-Provincial Relations. 1946-47.
- Pau, P.**
France and Her Allies (W.W. I). 1919.
- Paulin, J. B.**
War Impressions (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Pearson, Sir A.**
Training of Blind Soldiers in England. 1919.
- Pearkes, Hon. G. R.**
Canada and Her Defence Force. 1945-46.
Canada's International Commitments. 1958.

- Pearson, Rt. Hon. L. B.**
 A National Purpose. 1963.
 Atlantic Trade Community,
 Foundation of the Free
 World. 1961.
 Canada and the Common-
 wealth. 1958.
 Canadian Foreign Policy in
 a Two-Power World. 1951.
- Pease, P.**
 Trade Relations between
 Australia and Canada.
 1936-37.
- Peat, H. R.**
 Experiences at the Front
 (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Pense, E. J. B.**
 Journalism in Canada.
 1905-06.
- Percy, Sir J.**
 Situation in Russia. 1921.
- Perks, Sir R. W.**
 Modern British Liberalism
 and the Empire. 1909-10.
- Perley, Sir G.**
 Practical Consolidation of
 the Empire. 1916-17.
- Perrine, J. O.**
 Quarter Century of Com-
 munications Development.
 1939-40.
 Voices Across the Sea
 (Telephone). 1935-36.
- Perry, F.**
 Tennis in the Empire.
 1936-37.
- Petersen, C. W.**
 Canada at the Cross Roads.
 1926.
- Peterson, H.**
 Two Thousand Years of
 Democracy. 1940-41.
- Peterson, W.**
 Naval Question in its Relation
 to the Empire. 1909-10.
- Pettypiece, H. J.**
 Question of Railway
 Taxation. 1903-04.
- Philip, P. J.**
 Cross-Roads. 1948-49.
 Going On to the End.
 1944-45.
 Let's Return to Diplomacy.
 1951.
 The Road Before Us. 1950.
 Uncertain Future. 1945-46.
 Union or Harmony. 1952.
 World Without the Empire.
 1947-48.
- Phillipps, T.**
 Empire at War in the Moslem
 Mediterranean. 1940-41.
- Phillips, L. F.**
 Organization of the Military
 Forces of the Empire.
 1911-12.
- Phillip, P. J.**
 Close to the War. 1940-41.
 End of the Beginning.
 1942-43.
 Fifth Year and the Future.
 1943-44.
 Hitler Holds All Europe.
 1941-42.
- Phillips, R. C.**
 Irishman as an Empire
 Builder. 1911-12.
- Phillipps-Wolley, C.**
 Navy and the Empire.
 1910-11.
- Phillips, W.**
 Palestine and the Middle
 East. 1944-45.
- Pickersgill, Hon. J. W.**
 Mr. Mackenzie King and the
 Development of the Com-
 monwealth of Nations.
 1953.
 The New Commonwealth and
 New Canadians. 1955.
- Pickford, Sir A.**
 Boy Scout Movement. 1926.
- Pidgeon, G. C.**
 Kipling, the Poet of the
 Empire. 1935-36.
 Message of Western to
 Eastern Canada. 1916-17.

- Pike, Rev. Canon V. J.**
Opening Meeting Season
1954-55. 1954.
- Pilcher, G.**
British Achievement in India.
1931.
- Pilkington, Sir Harry.**
Our Common Wealth. 1955.
- Podoski, V.**
Towards Victory. 1941-42.
- Polwarth, Lord**
St. Andrew's Day Special
Meeting. 1961.
- Ponton, W. N.**
Prose and Poetry, Reality and
Spirit of Canadian
Imperial Service. 1914-15.
- Porter, Hon D.**
What's Wrong With Canada's
Constitution? 1951.
- Powell, E. T.**
Scientific Imperialism. 1920.
- Prain, Sir Ronald**
Mining in an Under-
Developed Country of
Africa. 1964.
- Pratt, A. C.**
British Politics and
Reciprocity. 1910-11.
- Preus, J. A. O.**
The Non-Partisan Movement.
1922.
- Price, V. W.**
Battle for Europe's Mind.
1948-49.
- Prince, E.**
Canada's Fishery Resources.
1916-17.
- Puckle, Sir F.**
Western Nations in Post-War
Asia. 1945-46.
- Puddester, Sir J.**
Newfoundland. 1944-45.
- Purvis, A. B.**
Manufacturing as a
Profession. 1934-35.
- Putnam, G. H.**
Relation of the United States
to the Issues of the (first
World) War. 1915-16.
- Pyne, R. A.**
Industrial Education.
1908-09.
- Rabinowitch, I. M.**
Medical Evidence in a Court
of Law. 1957.
- Raja-Singham, A. I.**
India and the Empire.
1934-35.
- Randall, C. B.**
Is the Businessman Coming
Into His Own? 1953.
- Randall, O. E.**
Education in Business. 1927.
- Randall, S. J.**
Challenge from the Americas.
1961.
- Randles, A.**
Merchant Navy—The Fourth
Arm of the Fighting
Services. 1941-42.
- Rank, J. A.**
War Accomplishments of
British Films. 1947-48.
- Rasminsky, L.**
The Work of the Central
Bank. 1963.
- Ratcliffe, S. K.**
Hitler's Demands: How
Britain Meets Them. 1937-38.
- Rathbone, H. R.**
The Tie that Binds. 1919.
- Rathom, J. R.**
Three Years of Germany's
War on the United States
(German espionage, W.W.
I). 1916-17.
- Rau, Sir B. N.**
Links Between Canada and
India. 1951.
- Rauf, Dr. M. A.**
Foreign Policy of India.
1956.
- Rawlings, General E.**
Status of a U.S.-Owned
Subsidiary Operating in
Canada. 1963.

- Reade, J. C.**
Approaching Climax.
1944-45.
Russian Campaign in
Review. 1941-42.
Twentieth Century Crusade
at Home and Abroad.
1940-41.
- Redfern, Sir A. S.**
Certain Aspects of British
Life and Thought. 1948-49.
- Reed, T. A.**
Old Toronto. 1925.
- Reid, Sir G. H.**
Australia and her Relations
to the British Empire.
1912-13.
- Reid, Mrs. O.**
An Address. 1955.
- Reid, Senator T.**
The Narcotic Problem in
Canada. 1956.
- Renison, Bishop, R. J.**
Our Debt to Northern
Ontario. 1943-44.
The Romance of
Constantinople. 1937-38.
To Britain and Return.
1941-42.
- Retty, J. A.**
Iron Ore Deposits of
Labrador and New Quebec.
1949-50.
- Reuther, Dr. W. P.**
Peace, Freedom, Social
Justice – Indivisible Values.
1955.
- Rhodes, Sir G.**
Aid to Russia through the
Persian Gulf. 1945-46.
- Ribourg, A. E.**
Brain, Brawn, Capital. 1919.
- Richardson, B. T. and
Roebuck, Hon. A.**
What Should be Done with
the Canadian Senate? 1959.
- Riddell, W. A.**
International Economic
Co-operation. 1927.
- Pattison, Ethel Ely**
The World As I Seed It. 1951.
- Riddell, W. R.**
Appeals to the Privy Council.
1927.
Benjamin Franklin and
Canada. 1923.
Experiences of the American
Soldier in the War of
1812-14. 1913-14.
How and Why is Canada
British? 1912-13.
Philosophy of War (W.W. D).
1914-15.
Some Remarks on the Con-
stitutions of Canada and
the United States. 1909-10.
The British Monarchy.
1910-11.
The Prussian Mind. 1916-17.
The United States and the
League of Nations. 1925.
What is a Canadian Citizen?
1929.
- Riiser-Larsen, H.**
Invasion of Norway.
1940-41.
- Ritchie, General Sir N.**
East of Singapore. 1952.
- Roaf, J. R.**
Flying of Flags in Canada.
1906-07.
- Robbins, A. P.**
Press Pilgrim's Progress.
1950-51.
- Robarts, Hon. J. P.**
Progress and Stability in
Ontario. 1962.
- Roberts, A. E.**
Civilian Front Line. 1941-42.
- Roberts, R.**
Our Spiritual and Moral
Inheritance. 1927.
- Robertson, A.**
King Edward's Keys.
1909-10.
- Robertson, G. D.**
Dominion Unemployment
Relief. 1931.

- Robichaud, Premier L.**
New Brunswick - 1963. 1963.
- Robins, E. F.**
The Peace River Country,
Past, Present and Future.
1929.
- Robinson, C. W.**
A Legacy from the United
Empire Loyalists. 1911-12.
- Robinson, G. H.**
Milton as an Empire Builder.
1908-09.
- Robinson, Dr. J. H.**
International Aspects of
American Race Relations.
1962.
- Roblin, Hon. D.**
The Commonwealth Parlia-
mentary Association. 1959.
- Rodomar, O. W.**
Conflicting Interests of China,
Japan and Russia in the
Far East. 1937-38.
- Roebuck, Hon. A. and
Richardson, B. T.**
What Should be Done with
the Canadian Senate? 1959.
- Rogers, J.**
Canada and Britain - The
Invisible Links. 1953.
- Rogers, N. M.**
Present Challenge to Canada.
1940-41.
- Rogers, S.**
What Lies Ahead? 1939-40.
- Rogers, W., Jr.**
United States Policy for the
Pacific. 1943-44.
- Rogge, H. H.**
Canada's Today. 1954.
- Romney, G.**
International Bridge of
Freedom. 1961.
Significant Developments in
Our American Economy.
1957.
- Romulo, H.E. General C. P.**
The United Nations Today.
1952.
- Rootes, Sir W.**
British Need for Raw
Materials for Increased
Productivity. 1951.
- Rose, W. G.**
Greatness of the Great Lakes.
1935-36.
- Rosengren, R. P.**
Men, Money and Material.
1941-42.
Myth of the Militia. 1942-43.
- Ross, Sir G. W.**
Australian Commonwealth.
1908-09.
Evolution of Canadian
Sentiment. 1904-05.
Our National Equipment.
1912-13.
Place of the King in the
British Constitution.
1909-10.
Political Cleavage of a
Continent. 1906-07.
- Ross, H. S.**
World Unrest - A Suggested
Cure. 1926.
- Ross, J. G.**
Empire Parliamentary Asso-
ciation Visit to Australia
and New Zealand. 1944-45.
- Ross, J. W.**
Changing China. 1922.
- Ross, M. G.**
Liberal Education for a Free
Society. 1960.
- Ross, P. D.**
Some Deductions from the
Imperial Press Confer-
ence. 1909-10.
- Routley, Dr. T. C.**
You and Your Doctor. 1956.
- Rowell, N. W.**
Britain's Effort (W.W. I).
1916-17.
China and the Foreign
Powers. 1930.
Democracy versus Militarism.
1914-15.

- International Patriotic Rally
(Canada-United States).
1917-18.
- Our Imperial Relations.
1912-13.
- Will the Suggested Seven
Power Treaty Take the
Place of Protocol? 1925.
- Rowley, G. W.**
Factors Affecting Develop-
ment of Canada's North.
1963.
- Rowntree, A.**
Energy and Common Sense
in Education and Empire.
1928.
- Runge, Peter F.**
Some Problems of British-
Canadian Trade. 1964.
- Russell, G. S.**
By-Products of Empire. 1929.
- Rustomjee, R.**
Quo Vadis India? 1921.
- Ryerson, E.**
Occidental Japan. 1904-05.
- Ryerson, G. S.**
The New Germany. 1909-10.
- Ryrie, Sir G.**
Outlook of Empire. 1932.
- St. Laurent, Rt. Hon. L. S.**
Canada in 1953. 1953.
Quebec Code as a Canadian
Asset. 1920.
- Salmon, E. T.**
Making of the Peace.
1946-47.
- Sanderson, C. R.**
Moving Finger Writes, but
What Does it Write?
1941-42.
Our Lady of the Snows, Her
Mother and Her Children.
1936-37.
St. George Meets New
Dragons. 1945-46.
Social Credit. 1935-36.
- Sandwell, B. K.**
Being Pushed into Socialism.
1932.
- On Being Sorry for Ourselves.
1924.
- On Resting Merry in 1948.
1948-49.
- The 1928 (Canadian) Budget.
1928.
- Sastri, S.**
East Indians in Canada. 1922.
- Saunders, Controller L. H.**
Amalgamation vs. Cumming
Plan. 1953.
- Saunders, R. H.**
Case for the St. Lawrence
Power Project. 1951.
Chairman Reports. 1947-48.
Your Hydro Chairman
Reports. 1948-49.
- Savic, W. R.**
Jugo-Slavs and the Problem
of the Adriatic. 1919.
- Schalkwyk, W. D. Van**
South Africa After 50 Years
of Union. 1960.
- Schmitz, E. R.**
Sacrifice, Fall and Resurgence
of Fighting France. 1943-44.
- Schurman, J. G.**
Our International Outlook.
1921.
- Sclater, J. R. P.**
A New Canadian's
Impressions of Britain.
1925.
Confessions of a New
Canadian. 1924.
Imperial Significance of
Games. 1929.
- Scott, F. G.**
The Significance of Vimy.
1936-37.
- Scott, G. H.**
The Shuttle of Empire -
The Airship. 1930.
- Scroggs, W. O.**
Foreign Policy of the N.R.A.
1934-35.
- Seager, C. A.**
Canada and the League of
Nations. 1924.

- Sedgwick, J. and Maloney, A.**
The Death Penalty – For and Against. 1954.
- Seeley, J. E. B.**
Record of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade (W.W. I). 1920.
- Sefrovitch, A. V.**
Plight of Montenegro. 1915-16.
- Service, C. W.**
Some of China's Problems. 1919.
- Shatford, A. P.**
International Peace and Good Will. 1923.
- Sheard, C. M.**
City of Toronto Disposal of Sewage and Water Filtration. 1907-08.
- Sheldon, M.**
Commonwealth of Australia Today. 1920.
- Sherwood, W. A.**
National Spirit in Art. 1906-07.
- Shipley, Sir A. E.**
Co-operation Between Great Britain and Canada (University Education and Business). 1917-18.
- Shortt, A.**
Phases of Democracy Since the (first World) War. 1926.
- Shortt, C. H.**
Our Japanese Allies (W.W. I). 1914-15.
- Siegfried, A.**
France and Her Allies (W.W. I). 1919.
- Siegfried, Dr. H.**
Expellees – A Problem of a Divided Germany. 1959.
- Sifton, C.**
Conservation of Canada's Resources. 1910-11.
- Simmons, J. J.**
Australia's Part in the Scheme of Empire. 1915-16.
- Simon, Viscount**
India. 1930.
- Simonds, Lt. Gen. G. G.**
Impact of Strategy on Recent Developments. 1957.
Role of the Land Forces in Modern Warfare. 1952.
- Simons, J. J.**
Australia. 1929.
- Simpson, J.**
Exciting Events. 1934-35.
- Sims, W. S.**
Influence of Modern Weapons upon Future Warfare. 1922.
- Singh, A.**
India's Fight for Freedom. 1937-38.
- Slaght, A. G.**
Threat to World Freedom. 1948-49.
- Slim, Field Marshal Viscount**
A Soldier Looks at Business. 1963.
- Smallwood, Hon. J. R.**
Newfoundland. 1959.
- Smiddy, T. A.**
Economic Conditions and Policies of the Irish Free State. 1926.
- Smith, A. J. R.**
Some Questions about Economic Planning in Canada. 1962.
- Smith, A. L.**
Amateur Looks at the Canadian Economy. 1947-48.
- Smith, C. B.**
Hydro-Electric Power Question. 1906-07.
- Smith, G. O.**
Roman Occupation of Britain. 1906-07.
- Smith, H. A.**
Canadian Diplomacy and Responsibility. 1926.

- Smith, I. N.**
A Two-Way Iron Curtain. 1956.
- Smith, Major General J. D. B.**
Canada and NATO. 1956.
- Smith, J. H.**
Putting the Atom to Work. 1960.
- Smith, J. T.**
The Supreme Appeal. 1927.
- Smith, S. E.**
Your University and Canada's Finest Generation. 1946-47.
- Smith, W. E.**
Changing China. 1911-12.
- Smith, W. G.**
Victorious Peace (W.W. I). 1917-18.
- Smith, W. R.**
Britain's Experience of Public Ownership. 1905-06.
- Smith-Ross, J.**
Empire in a Changing World. 1943-44.
Europe - A Search for Ideas. 1944-45.
- Smuts, J. C.**
Freemasonry of Empire. 1929.
- Snider, C. H. J.**
Blinds Up in Britain. 1941-42.
War with the Blinds Down. 1939-40.
- Snowden, Mrs. P.**
The First Labour Government of Great Britain. 1925.
- Snyder, F. M.**
What is Happening in Germany? 1925.
- Solandt, Dr. O. M.**
Atom and Empire. 1953.
Exercise Sweetbriar. 1949-50.
- Somers, G. T.**
Reciprocity with the United States. 1910-11.
- Somerville, Sir J. F.**
British Commonwealth and Empire Co-operation. 1945-46.
- Sommerville, N.**
Germany and Austria at the Outbreak of War (W.W. I). 1914-15.
- Soules, J. M.**
Construction and the Canadian Economy. 1961.
- Southworth, T.**
Future of Canadian Forests. 1904-05.
- Sowby, C. W.**
Experiment in Education. 1949-50.
- Spencer, Dr. R.**
Germany: The Anatomy of a Crisis. 1961.
- Spillman, H. C.**
Canada and Its Development. 1925.
- Spry, D. C.**
Broader Aspects of Scouting. 1946-47.
Maple Leaf Up or Maple Leaf Down? 1948-49.
Scouts Today - Men Tomorrow. 1949-50.
- Spurgeon, A.**
Literary Outlook in the Empire. 1909-10.
- Squair, J.**
France Through Canadian Eyes. 1916-17.
- Staermose, R.**
Resistance Movement in Denmark. 1944-45.
- Stahl, F. and Bolton, A. H.**
Outlook for the United States Economy and Securities Markets for 1964. (Stahl) 1964.
The Outlook for the Canadian Stock Market. (Bolton). 1964.
- Stanfield, Hon. R. L.**
Nova Scotia in the Canadian Scene. 1957.

- Stanley, C.**
Change or Decay (in Canadian Affairs). 1933-34.
- Stansgate, Viscount**
Empire Carries On. 1943-44.
- Starr, J. E.**
Juvenile Court and Future Citizens. 1911-12.
- State, J. M.**
Outdoors in Canada. 1924.
- Stauffer, B. H.**
Sir John A. Macdonald – Empire Builder. 1914-15.
- Steele, H.**
Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Arctic. 1928.
- Stefansson, V. J.**
Abolishing the Arctic. 1928.
Canadian Arctic Region. 1917-18.
Our Northland, its People and Resources. 1912-13.
- Stembridge, J. H.**
Training Britain's Youth. 1938-39.
- Stephens, G. W.**
Canada and the St. Lawrence Waterway. 1910-11.
- Stevens, A. W.**
Stratosphere Exploration. 1935-36.
- Stevens, H. H.**
Money and Trade. 1931.
- Stewart, A.**
A High Standard. 1959.
- Stewart, Dr. A.**
Australia Revisited. 1956.
- Stewart, D. M.**
Banking System of Canada and the United States. 1905-06.
- Stewart, G. L.**
Frontiers of the Future. 1953.
- Stewart, H. L.**
Closer Empire Unity. 1943-44.
Essentials of the Coming Peace. 1942-43.
- Palestine as a U.N. Responsibility. 1947-48.
Present Challenge to British Imperialism. 1936-37.
What is Now at Stake in Europe. 1940-41.
- Stewart, J. A.**
British and American Relations. 1919.
Goodwill Between the United States and Canada. 1921.
World Conspiracy Against Anglo-American Friendship. 1920.
- Stewart, J. F. M.**
Manufacturing Industries of Canada Considered Geographically 1903-04.
- Stewart, J.**
Canada's Position in a Changing World. 1954.
- Stewart, R.**
Gilbert and Sullivan. 1932.
Good Music Made Popular. 1934-35.
What is this Business of Conducting? 1939-40.
- Stewart, W. J.**
Citizenship. 1946-47.
- Stokes-Rees, R. H.**
Inside a Submarine. 1943-44.
Survival at Stake – Our Individual Responsibilities. 1947-48.
- Story, W. O.**
Naval Defence. 1927.
- Strabolgi, Lord**
International Situation. 1947-48.
- Strachey, J.**
What Is the Cause of War? 1934-35.
- Strange, W.**
Into the Blitz. 1941-42.
What is the Navy Doing? 1942-43.

- Street, A. G.**
Agricultural Co-ordination
Within the Empire.
1937-38.
- Stringer, A.**
Canada Finds Her Voice.
1948-49.
The Interpreters of Canada.
1932.
- Stuart, Sir C.**
Canadian Unity. 1924.
- Stuart, Hon. R. D.**
Economic Problems of
Common Interest to
Canada and the United
States. 1954.
- Stupart, Sir R. F.**
Navigation of Hudson's Bay
and Straits. 1903-04.
- Stutchbury, H.**
National Economics of Coal.
1923.
- Sulte, B.**
Canadian Sentiment Before
and After Confederation.
1903-04.
- Sulzberger, A. H.**
Power and Responsibility.
1952.
- Sundar Singh**
Sikhs in Canada. 1911-12.
- Sutherland, R. F.**
Development of the Imperial
Idea. 1905-06.
- Swanson, W. W.**
The Imperial Conference and
Canada's Economic
Problems. 1930.
- Swayne, E. J. E.**
India and British Honduras.
1908-09.
- Sweeny, J. F.**
The Subject and the Empire.
1909-10.
- Swensrud, S. A.**
International Co-operation.
1956.
- Swinton, Rt. Hon. Viscount**
The Commonwealth and
Britain's Economic
Recovery. 1954.
- Sykes, Sir P.**
Explorers and the British
Empire. 1934-35.
- Tabouis, Madame G.**
Resistance in France.
1942-43.
- Taft, H.**
Fraternal Greetings from
Uncle Sam. 1921.
- Taft, W. H.**
Empire. 1913-14.
Fraternal Relations. 1919.
- Tanner, N. E.**
Trans-Canada Pipe Lines'
Place in the Canadian
Economy. 1958.
- Taplin, W.**
Commonwealth Trade and
Beyond. 1955.
- Tarr, E. J.**
What Next in Ireland?
1937-38.
- Taschereau, L. A.**
One of Canada's Assets, the
Habitant. 1922.
- Tate, H. W.**
Rapid Transit for Toronto.
1949-50.
- Tatlow, A. H.**
South Africa. 1924.
- Taylor, B.**
Imperial Plans in Education.
1919.
- Taylor, E. P.**
Toronto Should Have the
Best. 1958.
- Taylor, G.**
Public Opportunity and
Obligations of Business
Men. 1922.
- Taylor, W. E.**
Empire Relations with China.
1911-12.
- Thier, His Excellency J. de**
Belgian Policy in the Congo.
1961.

- Thomas, J.**
What is America's Answer?
1951.
- Thomas, Sir M.**
The Contribution of Creative
Chemistry to the
Humanities. 1957.
The Impact of the Jet in
World Aviation. 1953.
- Thompson, Dr. J. F.**
Factors in Developing a
Mineral Deposit. 1956.
- Thomson, R. H.**
Puzzling Years Ahead.
1944-45.
Scottish Home Rule. 1955.
The Winds of Change in the
New Nations. 1963.
- Thomson, P. N.**
Separatism - A Dangerous
Philosophy. 1964.
- Thorn, J.**
Historic, Economic and
Social Development in
New Zealand. 1947-48.
- Thornbrough, A. A.**
Free Trade in a Free World.
1960.
- Thorndike, Dame Sybil**
The Theatre. 1934-35.
- Thorneycroft, P.**
Combined Operations. 1954.
- Thornton, Sir H. W.**
Problems of the Canadian
National Railways. 1929.
The National Railways. 1922.
- Thorson, J. T.**
The Building of a Nation.
1927.
- Thwing, C. F.**
Enduring Greatness of
Newer Nations. 1919.
- Tory, H. M.**
A New Overseas Problem
(Army education, W.W. I).
1917-18.
Certain Phases of the (first
World) War Problem.
1914-15.
- Optimism versus Pessimism
(on Canada's future). 1926.
Watchman, What of the
Night? (Civilization). 1923.
- Towers, G. F.**
Credit Policy as a Factor in
the Present World
Depression. 1931.
Expectations and Events.
1950.
- Townsend, L.**
A Great Economic
Opportunity. 1964.
- Townshend, Sir C.**
Imperial Strategy (Mesopota-
mian campaign, W.W. I).
1920.
- Trevelyan, G. M.**
History and Literature. 1924.
- Trotter, R. G.**
Canada's Partnership in
Freedom. 1946-47.
- Trout, H. L.**
Australia, Canada and the
Empire. 1958.
- Trueman, A. W.**
Trustees of One Hundred
Million Dollars. 1959.
- Tsiang, Ambassador T. F.**
Post-War Economic
Development in China.
1944-45.
The Role of Free China in
the Free World. 1961.
- Tucker, L. N.**
Canada and the Empire.
1910-11.
- Tunney, J. J. (Gene)**
Athletics and Pugilism in the
Ancient and Modern
World. 1947-48.
- Turner, Mrs. P. G.**
Post-War Utilization of Farm
Products. 1943-44.
- Turner, P. J.**
Life and Customs of Rural ..
England. 1926.
- Twaits, W. O.**
Formula for Growth. 1960.

Tweedsmuir, First Baron

Some New Elements in
British Politics. 1924.

The Art of Living. 1935-36.

Tweedsmuir, Lady

The Commonwealth at the
United Nations. 1960.

Tweedsmuir, Lord

The Free World Partnership.
1951.

Twenty-five Years in Canada.
1961.

Tzen, P. L.

China Today. 1937-38.

Utgoff, V. V.

Russia: Britain's Ally
(W.W. I). 1915-16.

Valk, F.

The Theatre in Europe and
the Americas. 1955.

Vanderlip, F. A.

Conditions in the United
States. 1919.

Vandry, Rt. Rev. F.

Foundations for Peace. 1952.

Van Dyke, H.

Canada and the United
States. 1919.

**Vanier, His Excellency Major
General G. P.**

Problems of National
Maturity. 1961.

Van Koughnet, Mrs. A.

Some of the War Work of
Canadian Women (W.W.
I). 1916-17.

Van Paassen, P.

Frontiers of Hope and
Despair. 1933-34.

Vaughan, B.

Empire Citizenship. 1910-11.

Vaughan, R. C.

Railway at War. 1942-43.

Venkatachar, Hon. C. S.

India in the Sixties. 1960.

Vijayaragharacharya, Sir T.

Empire Building. 1926.

England, Canada and India.
1945-46.

Viljoen, P. R.

Conditions in South Africa.
1945-46.

Villeneuve, Cardinal J. M. R.

Salute to Britain. 1940-41.

Vincent, Sir C. E. H.

Preferential Trade Within
the Empire. 1904-05.

Vincent, C. E.

The British Empire and
World Health. 1929.

Work of the Rockefeller

Foundation: Health as an
International Bond. 1920.

Vincent, M.

Bell is Big Business. 1964.

Vining, C. A. M.

The Newsprint Riddle.
1934-35.

Wade, F. C.

Canada at the Grave of
Wolfe. 1910-11.

Wadia, B. P.

Conditions in India Today.
1922.

Wakefield, R.

Turning of the Tide of War
(W.W. I). 1917-18.

Walker, B. E.

Practical Imperialism.
1903-04.

Walker, Hon. D. J.

What Are We Doing and
What You Can Do About
Employment. 1960.

Walker, Sir E.

Finance of the (first World)
War. 1917-18.

Trip Through South
America. 1922.

Wallace, O. C. S.

Conscience as a National
Asset. 1903-04.

Wallace, R. C.

Are We Using Canada's
Wealth Aright? 1942-43.

- Warburton, E.**
Dunkirk to Dieppe and Beyond. 1942-43.
- Ward, H.**
Canada's Interest in the Recent Decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Matter of the Chicago Drainage Canal. 1930.
- Ware, Sir F.**
A Successful Experiment in Imperial Co-operation (Imperial war graves commission). 1925.
- Wassell, C. M.**
War in the Far East. 1944-45.
- Watson-Watt, Sir R.**
Scientist and Citizen. 1947-48.
The Dangers of the Nuclear Age. 1959.
- Waugh, W. T.**
Canada and the Spirit of General Wolfe. 1926.
Some Disruptive Influences in the British Commonwealth. 1929.
- Webb, R. H.**
Hudson Bay Railway and Immigration. 1926.
- Wedgwood, Sir John**
Canadian Trade - Handle with Care! 1959.
The Economic Consequences of General DeGaulle. 1964.
- Weeks, E. A.**
Books and Canada. 1955.
- Weinthal, L.**
Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route. 1920.
- Weir, W. A.**
Present and Future of Quebec. 1905-06.
- Wemp, B. S.**
On Active Service with the Fighting Forces. 1942-43.
- The Earl of Wemyss and March**
The Scottish Scene. 1954.
- Werner, E.**
Towards Unity. 1942-43.
- Wheeler, O.**
Mount Everest Expedition. 1923.
- Whidden, H. P.**
Canada's Place Among the English-speaking Nations. 1924.
- White, J.**
Ashburton Treaty and Prior Negotiations. 1909-10.
Oregon Boundary Question. 1910-11.
- White, J. Z.**
Public Ownership of Public Utilities. 1905-06.
- White, Sir T.**
Canada's Immigration Problems. 1928.
- White, W. C.**
What Is to Become of China? 1928.
- Whitehead, Commander E.**
The Human Factor. 1955.
- Whitman, C. H.**
International Patriotic Rally (Canada-United States). 1917-18.
- Whitney, Hon. J. H.**
Canadian and American Relations. 1963.
- Whitteker, B.**
London Tells the World. 1944-45.
- Whitton, Mayor Charlotte**
Canada's Problems in Relief and Assistance. 1935-36.
The Fundamental Liberties. 1952.
Whither Canada? 1951.
- Whyte, Sir F.**
The Crisis in the Far East. 1932.
- Wickett, S. M.**
Canadians in the United States. 1904-05.

- Problems of City Government. 1907-08.
- Wickman, A. C.**
Simple Laws of International Trade. 1944-45.
- Wigglesworth, Hon. R. B.**
The Soviets' Objectives – Facts and Fancies. 1959.
- Wigle, E. S.**
Young Ambassadors of Empire (Boy Scouts). 1929.
- Wijkman, P.**
Sweden's Relationship with the British Empire and with Canada in Particular. 1944-45.
- Wilgress, L. D.**
Imperial Preference and GATT. 1961.
- Wilkinson, Rt. Rev. C. R. H.**
India Today. 1953.
- Wilkinson, Bishop F. H.**
Lambeth and Church Unity. 1958.
The Church Amid World Cultures. 1963.
- Will, J. S.**
A Royalist Fiasco (Current affairs in France). 1933-34.
The Case for France. 1923.
- Willan, H.**
History of Christmas Music. 1940-41.
- Williams, Governor G. M.**
The Free World's Stake in the Underdeveloped Countries. 1959.
- Williams, V.**
The Men Who Saved England (George V, Macdonald, Baldwin). 1931.
- Williams, W. E.**
Around the World in 34 Days. 1957.
The Fabulous Orient. 1960.
- Willingdon, Viscount**
International, Empire, and Dominion Co-operation. 1926.
- Address on Empire and Commonwealth. 1930.
(Special luncheon meeting.)
- Willison, Sir J. S.**
Australia as I Saw It. 1924.
Civil Service Reform in Canada. 1907-08.
Imperial Reorganization. 1915-16.
War and Empire. 1913-14.
- Willison, W. A.**
War Mobilization of Great Britain (W.W. I). 1916-17.
- Wilmot, C.**
Struggle for Europe. 1952.
- Wilson, Mrs. C. M.**
Women – 1830 and 1930. 1930.
- Wilson, C. E.**
Essentials for Labour Peace. 1951.
Good Neighbours. 1958.
- Wilson, D. V.**
P.S.I. . . . Project – Samaritan Intn'l. 1957.
- Wilson, J. A.**
Civil Aviation. 1927.
- Wilson, Dr. J. T.**
Exercise Muskox. 1945-46.
How International is Science? 1961.
- Wilson, K. R.**
Battle Against Rising Prices. 1941-42.
- Wilson, R. V.**
Australian Problems. 1924.
- Windle, Sir B.**
Recent Developments in University Education in Great Britain. 1920.
Thomas Hardy, the Novelist. 1924.
- Windsor, Duke of**
Impressions of My Canadian Tour (Address given when Prince of Wales). 1919.
- Winnington-Ingram, A. F.**
Bonds of the British Empire. 1926.

- Winters, Hon. R. H.**
Government and Private Enterprise. 1959.
- Witt, D. T.**
With the R.A.F. Over Europe. 1941-42.
- Wolfit, D.**
Shakespeare in War and Peace. 1946-47.
- Wood, J. E. R.**
Inception and Production of Detour. 1946-47.
- Wood, General R. E.**
Economic Future for Canada. 1952.
- Woods, J. H.**
Canada's Widening Horizon. 1930.
- Woodside, W.**
A Whole World Against Us (Nazi movement). 1934-35.
After Stalin - What? 1953.
Britain Faces Germany. 1938-39.
Finishing the Job. 1942-43.
Inside Spain Today. 1946-47.
Next Few Weeks in the Far East. 1941-42.
Russian Riddle. 1945-46.
Stalin's Biggest Headache. 1949-50.
Why So Much Gloom? 1962.
Winning Without War. 1952.
- Woodward, H. E. the Hon. S.**
Peace and Prosperity - The Challenge of Our Day. 1950.
- Wrench, Sir E.**
Canada and a United Empire. 1937-38.
Old Country Carries On. 1940-41.
- Wright, A. W.**
Canada's Canal Problem. 1911-12.
- Wright, Moorhead**
The Development of Men. 1960.
- Wright, P.**
British Sea Power. 1919.
The British Navy. 1917-18.
- Wriston, H. M.**
One Bite at a Time. 1953.
- Wrong, G. M.**
Canada's Problem of Equality with Great Britain. 1926.
Civil Service Reform. 1917-18.
The European Situation. 1924.
What Would United States Naval Parity with Great Britain Mean for Canada? 1930.
- Yalden-Thomson, D. C.**
What is to Become of the British Protectorates. 1943-44.
- Yeigh, F.**
Span of a Canadian Generation. 1911-12.
- Young, S.**
The Problem of Stuffed Shirtism. 1957.
- Young, T. C.**
Iran's Current Problems. 1946-47.
- Younge, R. J.**
Relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.
- Yui, Ming**
China's Position in This Struggle. 1944-45.
- Zimmern, A.**
The International Situation and the Protocol. 1925.
- Zwemer, S. M.**
British Empire and Islam. 1923.
Egypt and Arabian Problems. 1921.

Index of Subjects, 1903-1964

Adriatic

- Guglielmotti: Italian Problem in the Adriatic. 1919.
Savic: Jugo-Slavs and the Problem of the Adriatic. 1919.

Advertising

- Ogilvy: Should Advertising Be Abolished? 1963-64.

Africa

- Cartland: Africa – The Uncommitted Continent. 1962-63.
Jays: Problems of Empire in West Africa. 1911-12.
Kraft Africa South of the Sahara. 1947-48.
Ney: Empire in Africa and the Middle East. 1945-46.
Prain: Mining in an Underdeveloped Country in Africa. 1963-64.
Weinthal: Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route. 1920.

Agriculture

- Bouchard: A Habitant Looks Over Canada (Farming). 1933-34.
Gardiner: Conditions in the West. 1934-35.
—Food. 1945-46.
Good: Canada's Rural Problem. 1916-17.
Hannam: Farmer Takes a Hand in World Affairs. 1949-50.
Hepburn: Canadian Agriculture in the War. 1943-44.
James: Agriculture of the Province (Ontario). 1913-14.
Macphail: The Farmer. 1920.

- Marshall: Future of Agriculture in Alberta. 1920.

- Martin: Canada's Future as an Agricultural Country. 1924.
Street: Agricultural Co-ordination within the Empire. 1937-38.

- Turner: Post-War Utilization of Farm Products. 1943-44.

Airships

- Scott: The Shuttle of Empire – The Airship. 1930.

Alaska Highway

- MacNicol: Alaska Highway and Post-War Reconstruction. 1942-43.

Alberta

- Greenfield: Farmer Movement in Alberta Politics. 1922.
Hall: Industrial Development of the Last West. 1907-08.
Marshall: Future of Agriculture in Alberta. 1920.
Robins: The Peace River Country: Past, Present and Future. 1929.
Stutchbury: National Economics of Coal. 1923.

Alfred the Great

- Keys: First Great English Imperialist. 1904-05.

Algeria

- Lacoste: The Algerian Issue. 1957-58.

Aluminum

- DuBose: Building Frontiers with Aluminum. 1950-51.

Animals

Delme-Radcliffe: Wild Animal Life in the British Empire. 1931.

Antarctic Regions

Fuchs: The Crossing of Antarctica. 1958-59.

Mawson: Antarctic Exploration. 1914-15.

Michell: With Shackleton to the Antarctic. 1909-10.

Arabia

Kassarji: Pan-Arab Movement and the Sterling Bloc. 1945-46.

Longrigg: Oil, Power Politics and the Arab Awakening. 1958-59.

Zwemer: Egyptian and Arabian Problems. 1921.

Arctic Regions

Bernier: Arctic Regions of Canada. 1909-10.

— Our Northern Heritage. 1926.

Dafoe: Canada's New Northwest Development. 1929.

McKeand: Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1939-40.

— Canada's Eastern Arctic. 1942-43.

Martin: To the Top of the World with the Eastern Arctic Patrol. 1935-36.

Solandt: Exercise Sweetbriar. 1949-50.

Steele: Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Arctic. 1928.

Stefansson: Canadian Arctic Region. 1916-17.

— Abolishing the Arctic. 1928.

Wilson: Exercise Muskox. 1945-46.

Argentina

Mitre: Canadian Commercial Opportunities in Argentine. 1917-18.

Art

Constable: Why Waste Money on Art Galleries? 1938-39.

Grier and Jackson: Two Views of Canadian Art. 1925.

Jarvis: A World Without Frontiers. 1956-57.

Sherwood: National Spirit in Art. 1906-07.

Asia

Henderson: The Soviet Challenge in Asia. 1959-60.

Puckle: Western Nations in Post-War Asia. 1945-46.

Ritchie: East of Singapore — S.E. Asia, Problem for the West. 1952-53.

Astronomy

Barnard: Photographing the Sky. 1920.

Athletics

Tunney: Athletics and Pugilism in the Ancient and Modern World. 1947-48.

Australia

Beale: Some Conditions in Australia. 1905-06.

Braddon: Australia and Her Post-War Problem (W.W. I). 1919.

Dafoe: Australian Politics. 1926.

Forde: Australia's Place in the British Commonwealth. 1946-47.

Foster: Glimpses of the East. 1913-14.

Glasgow: Australia. 1940-41.

Hay: Australia's New Frontiers. 1962-63.

Heaton: Canadian-Australian Contrasts. 1926.

Laffer and Hyland: The Australian Good-Will Party. 1931.

Larke: Australia, Political and General Conditions. 1905-06.

Lyons: The Australian Situation. 1935-36.

- McColl: Australian Political Development. 1908-09.
 Martin: Australia Looks Ahead. 1945-46.
 Montague: Thoughts About Canada and Australia. 1903-04.
 Page: Australia and the Empire. 1938-39.
 Pease: Trade Relations between Australia and Canada. 1936-37.
 Ross, G.W.: Australian Commonwealth. 1908-09.
 Ross, J. G.: Empire Parliamentary Association Visit to Australia and New Zealand. 1944-45.
 Sheldon: Commonwealth of Australia Today. 1920.
 Simmons: Australia's Part in the Scheme of Empire. 1915-16.
 Simons: Australia. 1929.
 Stewart: Australia Revisited. 1955-56.
 Trout: Australia, Canada and the Empire. 1957-58.
 Willison: Australia as I Saw It. 1924.
 Wilson: Australian Problems. 1924.

Austria

- Sommerville: Germany and Austria at the Outbreak of War (W.W. I). 1914-15.

Automobiles

- Allcut: Automobiles of the Future. 1952-53.
 Campbell: How Speed Records Are Broken. 1932. Speed trials at Daytona. 1933.34.
 Eyston: The Land Speed Record. 1938-39.

Aviation

- Bell: Substance of My Latest Research. 1917-18.

- Bishop: Experiences of a Canadian Aviator in France. 1917-18.
 - British Aviation in War and Peace. 1930.
 - What Aviation Means to Canada. 1935-36.
 - Winged Warfare Over Britain. 1940-41.
 Brancker: Progress in Civil Aviation. 1926.
 D'Erlanger: The Impact of Air Transport on World Affairs. 1959-60.
 Deisher: Aircraft Industry in Canada and the Future Development of Jet Engines. 1948-49.
 Dobson: Canadian Aviation - Its Potential. 1951-52.
 Johnson: Trans-Canada Air Lines. 1938-39.
 Hees: The Future of the Air Industry in Canada. 1959-60.
 Lee: Development of Aircraft in War. 1917-18.
 MacBrien: Future of Aviation in Canada. 1927.
 - Development of Aviation Within the Empire. 1929.
 McGregor: International Aviation - An Empire Tie. 1948-49.
 - The Farnborough Show. 1954-55.
 Thomas: The Impact of the Jet in World Aviation. 1953-54.

Bahamas

- Grey-Wilson: Bahamas, West Indies, Canada. 1911-12.

Baldwin, Earl

- Williams: The Men Who Saved England. 1931.

Balkan States

- Maresch: Present Situation in the Balkans. 1939-40.

Baltic States

Heilperin: What Will the Baltic States Do? 1939-40.

Banks and Banking

Black: World Bank, Canada and the Commonwealth. 1952-53.

Day: Bank for International Settlements. 1929.

Ilife: Fifteen Years at the World Bank. 1962-63.

Stewart: Banking Systems of Canada and the United States. 1962-63.

Barnardo Homes

Bentham: Empire Builders. 1922.

Belgium

Dancy: Belgium's Heroic Resistance (W.W. I). 1914-15.

Lawson: Emergency in the Congo. 1961-62.

Mercier: German Occupation of Belgium. 1919.

O'Hagan: Belgium and the Belgians. 1914-15.

Thier: Belgian Policy in the Congo. 1960-61.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Laurendeau and Dunton: The Work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. 1963-64.

Blind

Baker: Canada's Place in Work for the Blind. 1936-37.

Pearson: Training of Blind Soldiers in England. 1919.

Boxing

Tunney: Athletics and Pugilism in the Ancient and Modern World. 1947-48.

Boy Scouts

Baden-Powell: Boy Scout Movement. 1910-11; 1923.

Barclay: The Business Man, the Community Builder. 1922.

Pickford: Boy Scout Movement. 1926.

Spry: Broader Aspects of Scouting. 1946-47.

– Scouts Today – Men Tomorrow. 1949-50.

Wigle: Young Ambassadors of Empire. 1929.

Brazil

Borden: Modern Brazil. 1956-57.

British Columbia

Goodeve: Present Conditions in British Columbia. 1910-11.

McNeil: British Columbia. 1912-13.

Pattullo: British Columbia and Confederation. 1937-38.

Colbourne: British Council. 1939-40.

Redfern: Certain Aspects of British Life and Thought. 1948-49.

British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, 1924

Parsons: The British Empire Exhibition: A Study in Geography, Resources and Citizenship of the British Empire. 1924.

British Israelism

MacKendrick: Allenby's Campaign as Laid Down in the Bible. 1922.

Burma

Innes: Fighting in Burma. 1944-45.

Business

Babson: Business Outlook for 1923. 1922.

Baldwin: Outlook for 1931. 1930.

Carney: Businessman Speaks Up. 1943-44.

Chevalier: As the Allies Face the Future. 1944-45.

Clark: Current Business Situation. 1931.

- Gordon: Realism or Fatalism. 1961-62.
- Hart: Looking Ahead. 1963-64.
- Some Thoughts on the Threshold of the New Year. 1957-58.
- Hill: Free Enterprise. 1947-48.
- Inglehart: Growing Pains. 1952-53.
- Jackson: Man-made Remedies for a Man-made Depression. 1933-34.
- Leacock: Riddle of the Depression. 1933-34.
- McEachern: Mid-Century Look Forward and Backward. 1949-50.
- Randall: Challenge From the Americas. 1961-62.
- Is the Businessman Coming into His Own? 1952-53.
- Rawlings: Status of a U.S.-owned Subsidiary Operating in Canada. 1963-64.
- Rogers: What Lies Ahead? 1939-40.
- Slim: A Soldier Looks at Business. 1962-63.
- Soules: Construction and the Canadian Economy. 1960-61.
- Taylor: Public Opportunity and Obligations of Business Men. 1922.
- Twaits: Formula for Growth. 1960-61.
- Vincent: Bell is Big Business. 1963-64.
- Whitehead: The Human Factor. 1955-56.
- Winters: Government and Private Enterprise. 1958-59.
- de Young: The Resultant of Forces. 1962-63.
- Business Conditions**
- McCaffrey: Looking Ahead. 1953-54.
- Cables**
- Archer-Shee: State Owned Atlantic Cable. 1911-12.
- Fleming: Our Empire Cables. 1903-04.
- Gordon: Imperial Intelligence Union. 1906-07.
- Neville: Canadian Cable to Japan: Its Commercial and Imperial Value. 1908-09.
- Cadet Training**
- Hughes: National and Ethical Value of Cadet Training. 1911-12.
- Canada**
- Abbott: New Look at Canada. 1947-48.
- Beattie: Some Canadian Problems. 1924.
- Camsell: The Trail of '35. (4,000-mile aerial trip through N.W. Canada.) 1935-36.
- Currie: Conquest of National Fear. 1925.
- Darling: A British View of Canada. 1926.
- DeWitt: Canada in World History. 1936-37.
- Doolittle: Coast to Coast by Automobile. 1925.
- Gilmour: A Canadian Looks at South Africa. 1955-56.
- DuMoulin: Canada from East to West. 1910-11.
- Fateux: Our Son's Heritage. 1953-54.
- Fisher: Cobwebs. 1947-48.
- John Fisher Reports. 1950-51.
- Fleming: Challenge We Face. 1945-46.
- Ford: Some Impressions. 1951-52.
- Franca: Canada's Artistic Boom. 1958-59.
- Gardiner: Canada. 1951-52.
- Grauer: Regional Prospects and Problems in Western Canada. 1957-58.
- Hanna: Development of the Canadian West. 1907-08.

- Herridge: Our National Outlook. 1904-05.
- Howe: Canada at War. 1940-41.
- Hutton: Canadian National Character. 1903-04.
- Lindal: Our Democratic Heritage. 1938-39.
- Llewellyn: St. George and Canada. 1942-43.
- MacLennan: Exile's View of Canada. 1951-52.
- Macqueen: Imperialistic Canada. 1912-13.
- Mills: Our Country: Its Dangers and Its Needs. 1906-07.
- Montague: Thoughts about Canada and Australia. 1903-04.
- Norwood: Canada in Crisis — As Seen by an Australian. 1940-41.
- Owen: Spirit of the Pioneers Today. 1933-34.
- Pidgeon: Message of Western to Eastern Canada. 1916-17.
- Reid: The Narcotic Problem in Canada. 1955-56.
- Riddell: How and Why is Canada British? 1912-13.
- Rogers: Present Challenge to Canada. 1940-41.
- Rogge: Canada's Today. 1953-54.
- Rowley: Factors Affecting Development of Canada's North. 1962-63.
- St. Laurent: Canada in 1953. 1952-53.
- Sclater: Confessions of a New Canadian. 1924.
- Smith: Canada and NATO. 1955-56.
- Spillman: Canada and its Development. 1925.
- Stanley: Change or Decay (in Canadian Affairs). 1933-34.
- Stewart: A High Standard 1958-59.
- Trotter: Canada's Partnership in Freedom. 1946-47.
- Tweedsmuir: 25 Years in Canada. 1961-62.
- Valk: Theatre in Europe and the Americas. 1955-56.
- Weeks: Books and Canada. 1956-57.
- Whidden: Canada's Place Among the English-speaking Nations. 1924.
- Whitton: Whither Canada? 1950-51.
- Windsor, Duke of: Impressions of My Canadian Tour (Address given when Prince of Wales.) 1919.
- Yeigh: Span of a Canadian Generation. 1911-12.
- Young: The Problem of Stuffed Shirtism. 1957-58.
- Canada: Armed Forces**
- Alexander: Canada's Defence Forces. 1938-39.
- Barron: Naval Defence for Canada. 1908-09.
- Brown: Canada's Achievements and Opportunities in Europe (W.W. I). 1919.
- Browne: Canada's Reserve Army. 1942-43.
- Cameron: The Canadian Outlook (W.W. I). 1916-17.
- Constantine: Canada's Defence Force — Its Relationship to the World Conflict. 1941-42.
- Crerar: Need for Canadian Military Preparation. 1945-46.
- Fauquier: R.C.A.F. Bomber Group in Action. 1945-46.
- French: Greetings and Tributes to Old Comrades in Arms: The Prospect for the Future. 1922.
- Gibson: Development of Air Power in Canada. 1945-46.
- Gould: Win the War — The Next Step (W.W. I). 1916-17.

Guinness: Canadian Contribution in Men to the Imperial Navy. 1916-17.

Hahn: Development of Army Equipment. 1942-43.

Haldenby: Battalion Commander's Experience in the First Year of the War. 1940-41.

Hunter: Condensed Militarism in Canada. 1904-05.

McNaughton: Canada's Land and Air Forces. 1929.

Mulloy: Duty of Canada and Her Sons to the Empire (W.W. I). 1915-16.

Neil: Canadian Army as I Saw It (W.W. I). 1917-18.

Parker: Canada's War in the Air. 1942-43.

Seeley: Record of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade (W.W. I). 1920.

Solandt: Exercise Sweetbriar. 1949-50.

Strange: What is the Navy Doing? 1942-43.

Wemp: On Active Service with the Fighting Forces. 1942-43.

Wilson: Exercise Muskox. 1945-46.

Canada: Boundaries

McNaughton: Boundary Waters between Canada and the United States. 1951-52.

White: Ashburton Treaty and Prior Negotiations. 1909-10.

— Oregon Boundary Question. 1910-11.

Canada: Centennial

Metcalf: Centennial Business is Your Business. 1963-64.

Canada: Constitution

Clarke: Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 1908-09.

Cronyn: The Weak Spot in Our Canadian Constitution (property rights). 1925.

Garson: Empire, Canada and the Provinces. 1949-50.

Porter: What's Wrong with Canada's Constitution. 1951-52.

Riddell: Some Remarks on the Constitutions of Canada and the United States. 1909-10.

Wrong: Canada's Problem of Equality with Great Britain. 1926.

Canada: Defence

Burham: Are We Equal to the Occasion? 1912-13.

Burns: Where Does Disarmament Stand Today? 1961-62.

Campney: Defence and the North. 1955-56.

Claxton: Men — Materials — Money for Canada's Defence. 1950-51.

Curtis: Men and Missiles. 1958-59.

Foulkes: The Future of Canadian Defence in the Nuclear Era. 1962-63.

Hellyer: Canada's Defence. 1963-64.

Howe: Preparedness and the Canadian Economy. 1950-51.

Hunter: Fatuous Insolence of the Canadians. 1903-04.

Mason and others: Canada and Imperial Defence. 1905-06.

Merritt: A Weak Link in the Imperial Chain. 1909-10.

Otter: Efficiency of the Canadian Militia for Defence. 1913-14.

Pearkes: Canada and Her Defence Forces. 1945-46.

Simonds: Impact of Strategy on Recent Developments. 1957-58.

Wade: Canada at the Grave of Wolfe. 1910-11.

Canada: Diplomatic and Consular Service

Ferguson: Canada's Representation at London. 1931.

Greene: Representation Abroad. 1951-52.

Canada: Economic Conditions

Bruce: Civilization and the Cave Man (Housing in Canada). 1936-37.

Chalmers: Next Five Years in Canada. 1935-37.

Corless: Canada Turning the Corner. 1929.

Diefenbaker: Canada's Economic Position. 1962-63.

Fleming: Expansion Without Inflation. 1959-60.

Forsyth: The Sun Rises in the East. 1953-54.

Hart: Some Thoughts on the Threshold of the New Year. 1957-58.

Hodgins: Outlook for Canada. 1922.

Jellett: Canadian Economy and Its International Aspects. 1947-48.

Knowles: Two Tokens of National Progress. 1912-13.

McEachern: Rocks on the Road Ahead. 1960-61.

Ross: Our National Equipment. 1912-13.

Smith: Amateur Looks at the Canadian Economy. 1947-48.

Soules: Construction and the Canadian Economy. 1960-61.

Stuart: Economic Problems of Common Interest to Canada and the U.S. 1953-54.

Tory: Optimism versus Pessimism. 1926.

Wood: Economic Future of Canada. 1951-52.

Canada: Economic Policy

Abbott: Some Economic and Financial Consequences of Defence. 1950-51.

Bolton: The Outlook for the Canadian Stock Market. 1963-64.

Coyne: The Financing of Economic Growth in Canada. 1955-56.

Eaton: Canada's Opportunity. 1950-51.

Gardiner: Canada and the Nations. 1947-48.

Gathercole: Ontario's Economic Prospects. 1955-56.

Holding: Canada's Century If - 1951-52.

Howe: Preparedness and the Canadian Economy. 1950-51.

Imrie: A Canada Forward Policy. 1925.

Macdonnell: Some War-Time Business and Financial Problems. 1939-40.

MacLeod: Stock-taking for the Post-War. 1944-45.

Martin: Some Considerations in Canadian Foreign Policy. 1958-59.

Smith: Some Questions about Economic Planning in Canada. 1962-63.

Tanner: Trans-Canada Pipelines Place in the Canadian Economy. 1958-59.

Winters: Government and Private Enterprise. 1958-59.

de Young: The Resultant of Forces. 1962-63.

Canada: Finance

Abbott: Some Economic and Financial Consequences of Defence. 1950-51.

Coyne: The Financing of Economic Growth in Canada. 1955-56.

Drayton: Our Mission - Sound Public Finance. 1933-34.

Fleming: Dollars and Sense. 1957-58.

Graham: What is the Future of Your Dollar? 1961-62.

Sandwell: The 1928 Budget. 1928.
Walker: Finance of the (first World) War. 1917-18.
see also Money.
Canada: Foreign Relations
Bassett: Canada's Impact on World Affairs. 1954-55.
Eaton: Canada's Place in World Politics. 1916-17.
Green: Canada in the World of Today. 1962-63.
– Canada in World Affairs. 1959-60.
Greenwood: British Diplomacy and Canadian Responsibilities. 1907-08.
Grey-Wilson: Bahamas, West Indies, Canada. 1911-12.
Keyserlingk: What is Canada's Position in the World Today? 1946-47.
– Between the Iron and the Ice Curtain. 1949-50.
Lash: Canada's Foreign Affairs. 1916-17.
Martin: A World Partner.
Nelson: Pacific Problems and Canada's Part in Them. 1925.
Pearkes: Canada's International Commitments. 1957-58.
Pearson: Canadian Foreign Policy in a Two-Power World. 1950-51.
Smith: Canadian Diplomacy and Responsibility. 1926.
Spry: Maple Leaf Up or Maple Leaf Down. 1948-49.
Canada: History
Curran: A Norseman Died in Ontario 900 Years Ago. 1938-39.
McArthur: Canadian Empire Builders. 1916-17.
Maheux: Was the King Right? 1948-49.
Morrow: Four Nations. 1934-35.

Nelson: The Old Romance in Canada. 1928.

Canada: Industries and Resources

Anthes: Canadian Industries and Trade. 1933-34.
Dinsdale: The True North Strong and Free. 1960-61.
Donovan: Canadian Resources and Responsibilities. 1915-16.
Drury: Canadian Department of Industry. 1963-64.
Forsyth: The Sun Rises in the East. 1953-54.
George: Canadian Industries, Preference and Reciprocity. 1904-05.
Lesage: Canada Resource Policy. 1956-57.
Mathers: Build Industry – Build Canada. 1961-62.
Sifton: Conservation of Canada's Resources. 1910-11.
Stefansson: Our Northland, Its People and Resources. 1912-13.
Stewart: Manufacturing Industries of Canada Considered Geographically. 1903-04.
Wallace: Are We Using Canada's Wealth Aright? 1942-43.

Canada: National Unity

Denison: That Inferiority Complex. 1948-49.
Douglas: Canada – A Nation or a Satellite. 1963-64.
Gardiner: The West and Canada's Problem. 1927.
Godbout: Quebec and Pan-Canadian Unity. 1940-41.
Gouin: A United Canada. 1919.
Harper: Canadian Assimilation. 1913-14.
Harvey: Can We Achieve Canadian Unity? 1938-39.
– How Can We Build a Nation? 1939-40.

Imrie: Our National Task. 1935-36.

McLaren: Our National Aspirations. 1905-06.

MacLeod: National Policy – 1939 Version. 1938-39.

Maheux: Canada Victorious, Happy and Glorious. 1942-43.

Riddell: What Is a Canadian Citizen? 1929.

Ross: Evolution of Canadian Sentiment. 1904-05.

Sulte: Canadian Sentiment Before and After Confederation. 1903-04.

Thorson: The Building of a Nation. 1927.

Vanier: Problems of National Maturity. 1960-61.

Canada: Politics and Government

Beaudoin: Mr. Speaker. 1956-57.

Borden: Recent Developments in Parliamentary Institutions. 1905-06.

Diefenbaker: Role of the Opposition in Parliament. 1949-50.

Fraser: Various Aspects of the Ottawa Scene. 1949-50.

MacLeod: The Handwriting on the Wall. 1937-38.

Michener: The House of Commons from the Speaker's Chair. 1957-58.

O'Leary: The Public and the Politicians. 1933-34.

Roebuck and Richardson: What Should be Done with the Canadian Senate? 1958-59.

Canada: Provincial Affairs

Barrette: Our Partnership. 1959-60.

Coldwell: Some Regional Problems of Canada. 1955-56.

see also British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Dominion-Provincial Affairs.

Canada: Tourist Trade

Dolan: Canada's Tourist Industry. 1938-39.

Canada: Trade

Cockshutt: Business Action. 1949-50.

Duncan: Latin America on the March – A Valuable Partnership. 1952-53.

Foster: Trade Preparation for the Coming Peace (W.W. I). 1916-17.

Fowler: Some Problems of Canadian Trade. 1960-61.

Imrie: New Markets in the Orient. 1931.

Kinsman: Some Important Aspects of Canada's International Trade. 1960-61.

Moore: Our Trade Channels. 1928.

Pease: Trade Relations between Australia and Canada. 1936-37.

Swanson: The Imperial Conference and Canada's Economic Problems. 1930.

Wedgwood: Canadian Trade – Handle With Care. 1958-59.

Woods: Canada's Widening Horizon. 1930.

Canada: Treaties

Clark: Treaty-Making Power. 1904-05.

Gibbons: International Waterways Treaty. 1910-11.

Canada and Great Britain

Baillie: Canada's Heritage of British Traditions. 1927.

Birge: Relations of Canada, the Motherland, and the United States. 1903-04.

Clark: Canada and Great Britain. 1929.

Coldwell: Our Economic Relations with the United Kingdom. 1949-50.

Donald: British Trade Relations with Canada. 1929.

Feinberg: America, Britain and Canada - The 'ABC' of Destiny. 1952-53.

Field: British Industry: Anglo-Canadian and Empire Trade. 1921.

Ketchen: Canada's Indebtedness to the Motherland. 1936-37.

Rogers: Canada and Britain - The Invisible Links. 1952-53.

Thornycroft: Combined Operations. 1953-54.

Canada and the Empire

Bennett: Canada. 1942-43.

Benson: Canadians in the Imperial Military Service. 1904-05.

Cavell: Canada and the Empire. 1938-39.

Clark: Canada and the Empire. 1905-06.

Cockshutt: Canada's Position in the Empire. 1904-05.

Drew: Target for Tomorrow. 1944-45.

Falconer: Canada as a Field for the Solution of Imperial Problems. 1907-08.

Ferguson: Canada's Destiny 1940-41.

McBride: Canada and the Empire. 1913-14.

MacLeod: Stock-taking for the Post-War. 1944-45.

Morley: The Philosophy of Canada's Position in the British Empire. 1936-37.

Munro: World Politics of Canada and the Empire. 1928.

Murray: Canada and the Empire of Tomorrow. 1943-44.

Nesbitt: Canada Within the Empire. 1921.

Osborne: Imperial Ignorance. 1903-04.

Pearson: Canada and the Commonwealth. 1958-59.

Rau: Links between Canada and India. 1950-51.

Ross: Evolution of Canadian Sentiment. 1904-05.

Trout: Australia, Canada and the Empire. 1957-58.

Tucker: Canada and the Empire. 1910-11.

Wrench: Canada and a United Empire (tour in Canada). 1937-38.

Canada and the Far East

Kiang Kan-Hu: Prospect of Cultural Relations between China and Canada. 1930.

McClure: Canada's Place in the Pacific Basin. 1946-47.

Canada and the United States

Birge: Relations of Canada, the Motherland, and the United States. 1903-04.

Colbert: A Centre of Confidence. 1956-57.

Farley: Our Common Mission. 1954-55.

Feinberg: America, Britain and Canada - the 'ABC' of Destiny. 1952-53.

Foss and others: Relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.

Gibbons: International Waterways Treaty. 1910-11.

Hopkins, J. C.: Continental Influences in Canadian Development. 1906-07.

Hopkins, J. J.: Canada and the United States – Partners in Freedom. 1951-52.

Insull: Neighbours Across the Border. 1930.

Litchfield: The Dangers and Opportunities We Share. 1954-55.

Macdonald: America's Greatest Achievement. 1914-15.

McCrimmon: English-speaking Peoples. 1925.

McMullen: Relations with the United States. 1906-07.

Parker: Let's Be Friends. 1953-54.

Parkin: Relations of Canada and the United States. 1907-08.

Rawlings: Status of a U.S.-owned Subsidiary Operating in Canada. 1963-64.

Ross: Political Cleavage of a Continent. 1906-07.

Rowell and others: International Patriotic Rally. 1917-18.

Stewart: Good Will between Canada and the United States. 1921.

Van Dyke: Canada and the United States. 1919.

Whitney: Canadian and American Relations. 1963-64.

Wickett: Canadians in the United States. 1904-05.

Wilson: Good Neighbours. 1958-59.

Woodward: Peace and Prosperity. 1950-51.

see also United States and Canada.

Canada Council

Trueman: Trustees of One Hundred Million Dollars. 1958-59.

Canada House, London

Thesiger: Earl Grey's Scheme

for Dominion House in London. 1913-14.

Canadian Chamber of Commerce

Cockshutt: Business Action. 1949-50.

Canadian Clubs

McCullagh: Canadian Clubs and Canadian Problems. 1910-11.

Canadian Literature

Gibbon: Canadian Letters and the New Canadian. 1923.

Stringer: The Interpreters of Canada. 1932.

– Canada Finds Her Voice. 1948-49.

Canada Research Council

McCallum: The Research Council and its Work. 1916-17.

Canals

Wright: Canada's Canal Problem. 1911-12.

Capital and Labour

Emery: Problems of Industry and Labour. 1906-07.

Green: Labour, Industry and the War. 1942-43.

Gregg: Canadian Labour in 1951. 1951-52.

King: Four Parties to Industry. 1919.

Moore, R. W.: Application of the Principles of Democracy to Industry's Labour Relations. 1939-40.

Moore, T.: Labour's Contribution to Community Progress. 1926.

Ribourg: Brain, Brawn, Capital. 1919.

Wilson: Essentials for Labour Peace. 1950-51.

see also International Labour Conference, International Labour Office; Trade Unions.

Carols

Willan: History of Christmas Music. 1940-41.

Ceylon

Hurley: Ceylon and the Colombo Plan. 1955-56.
see also Colombo Plan.

Chemistry

Irvine: Chemistry in War Time. 1932.

Thomas: The Contribution of Creative Chemistry to the Humanities. 1956-57.

Chicago Drainage Canal

see Great Lakes.

China

Currelly: Canada's Relations with China. 1936-37.

Duncan: Communist China – Time for Reappraisal. 1959-60.

Eby: True Inwardness of the Yellow Peril. 1907-08.

Endicott: China, the Democratic Front in the Far East. 1941-42.

Ferguson: Present Conditions in China. 1943-44.

Goforth: Situation in China. 1927.

Johns: China – Its People and Their Life. 1917-18.

Jolliffe: Chinese Nationalism, Old and New. 1958-59.

Liu: Fight for Democracy in China. 1942-43.

Peterson: Two Thousand Years of Democracy. 1940-41.

Ross: Changing China. 1922.

Rowell: China and the Foreign Powers. 1930.

Service: Some of China's Problems. 1919.

Smith: Changing China. 1911-12.

Taylor: Empire Relations with China. 1911-12.

Tsiang: Post-War Economic

Development in China. 1944-45.

– The Role of Free China in the Free World. 1960-61.

Tzen: China Today. 1937-38.

White: What is to Become of China? 1928.

Yui: China's Position in this Struggle. 1944-45.

Chivalry

Marshall: Chivalry in the British Empire. 1926.

Christianity

Cody and Gundy: The Forward Movement. 1920.

Smith: The Supreme Appeal. 1927.

Howse: The Christian Minority in the World of Tomorrow. 1961-62.

Neill: Threatened Christendom. 1961-62.

Churchill, Sir W.

Moir: Winston Churchill. 1941-42.

Citizenship

Devonshire: Citizenship. 1920.

Draper: Good Citizenship. 1928.

Eby: Imperial Citizenship. 1908-09.

Emery: True Principles of National Life. 1907-08.

Grier: Qualities which Go to Make a Good Citizen of the Empire. 1903-04.

Stewart: Citizenship. 1946-47.

Vaughan: Empire Citizenship. 1910-11.

Civil Service

Minehan: Civil Service Reform. 1906-07.

Willison: Civil Service Reform in Canada. 1907-08.

Wrong: Civil Service Reform. 1917-18.

Civilization

- Baillieu: Challenge of Our Time. 1954-55.
 Hammerskjold: An Address. 1953-54.
 Mead: How Fast Can Men Change? 1956-57.
 Murray: Only Way to Save Civilization. 1948-49.
 Tory: Watchman, What of the Night? 1923.

Coal

- Howe: Canada's Coal Problem. 1946-47.
 Moore: The Coal Situation. 1923.
 Stutchbury: National Economics of Coal. 1923.

Colombo Plan

- Cavell: Canada and the Colombo Plan. 1952-53.
 Hurley: Ceylon and the Colombo Plan. 1955-56.

Common Market

- MacDonald: Inside the Common Market. 1961-62.

Communism; Anti-Communism

- Armour: Do We Face Ideological Conquest? 1946-47.
 – Whither? (Address at annual meeting.) 1947-48.
 Burton: What Shall We Fight It With? 1952-53.
 Drew: From Moscow to Toronto. 1937-38.
 – Freedom's Crowning Hour. 1949-50.
 Duncan: Communist China – Time for Reappraisal. 1959-60.
 Eaton: Democracy or Bolshevism. 1919.
 Faulkner: Let's Find the Answer. 1952-53.
 Hunt: Anglo-American Freedom versus Russian Communism. 1947-48.

- James: We Take Our Stand. 1948-49.

- King: The British Answer to Communism. 1954-55.

- Lovink: Faith for the Free. 1952-53.

- Low: Commonwealth that Will Endure. 1946-47.

- Mann: Conclusions as to the Future. 1948-49.

- Murray: Plague of Pessimism. 1949-50.

- Stokes-Rees: Survival at Stake, Our Individual Responsibilities. 1947-48.

- Thomas: What Is America's Answer? 1951-52.

see also Russia.

Chambers of Commerce of the Empire

- Cockshutt: Commercial Congress of the Empire at Sydney. 1909-10.

Conscience

- Wallace: Conscience as a National Asset. 1903-04.

Constantinople

- Renison: The Romance of Constantinople. 1937-38.

Credit

- Cheyney: What is the Objective in Instalment Selling? 1947-48.

- Towers: Credit Policy as a Factor in the Present World Depression. 1931.

Cricket

- Matthews: Let's Play Cricket. 1936-37.

Crime and Criminals

- Archibald: New Criminology. 1905-06.

- Criminology in the British Empire. 1906-07.

- Criminal Anthropology from a Canadian Viewpoint. 1907-08.

Clegg: A Modern Crusade
Against Crime. 1938-39.
Gilmour: The Delinquent.
1912-13.

Cyprus

Duckworth: Position of Cyprus
in the Empire. 1904-05.
Greaves: The Cyprus Question.
1958-59.

Dardanelles

Davey: Gallipoli. 1920.

Defence

Abbott: Some Economic and
Financial Consequences of
Defence. 1950-51.
Doolittle: Combined Strength
for Defence. 1955-56.
Harkness: World Political
Changes and Their Effect on
Defence. 1963-64.

DeGaulle, General

Wedgwood: The Economic
Consequences of General
DeGaulle. 1963-64.

Delinquency, Juvenile

Boyd: Work of the Juvenile
Court. 1914-15.
Starr: Juvenile Court and
Future Citizens. 1911-12.

Democracy

Andrews: Fraternity and
Patriotism. 1912-13.
Bovey: This Democratic
Empire. 1939-40.
Cody: Safeguarding of
Imperial Democracy.
1913-14.
d'Egville: Democracy and
World Affairs. 1937-38.
Eaton: Democracy or Bolshev-
ism. 1919.
Guttry: Democracy in War.
1917-18.
Langford: Educating a
Democracy. 1942-43.
McKenzie: Challenge of
Democracy. 1939-40.

Morgan: Is Democracy
Outworn? 1936-37.

Morse: Democracy and the
Legislative Process. 1950-51.

O'Leary: Democracy Limited.
1936-37.

— Democracy Begins at Home.
1949-50.

Rowell: Democracy versus
Militarism. 1914-15.

Shortt: Phases of Democracy
since the (first World) War.
1926.

Vandry: Foundations for
Peace. 1951-52.

Denmark

Beck: Denmark and the (first
World) War. 1917-18.
Kauffman: Denmark Under the
Nazi Heel. 1943-44.
Staermose: Resistance Move-
ment in Denmark. 1944-45.

Dickens, Charles

May: The Art that Conceals
Art. 1935-36.
O'Hagan: Dickens Centenary.
1911-12.

Dionne Quintuplets

Dafoe: The Country Doctor in
Northern Ontario. 1935-36.

Diplomacy

Lindley: Diplomacy. 1931.
Lyuch: Is Diplomacy Really
Necessary? 1957-58.
Merchant: Some Aspects of
Modern Diplomacy. 1956-57.
see also Canada: Diplomatic
and Consular Service; Great
Britain: Consular Service

Disarmament

Baker: Disarmament. 1933-34.
Burns: Where Does Disarma-
ment Stand Today? 1961-62.
Dupre: Disarmament. 1933-34.
Eastman: The Sino-Japanese
Incident in Relation to the
Problem of Disarmament and
International Security. 1931.

Dominion-Provincial Relations

- Drew: Canada at the Cross-roads. 1940-41.
 - Ontario's Course is Clear. 1945-46.
 Grauer: Regional Prospects and Problems in Western Canada. 1957-58.
 Hepburn: Present Day Problems (Ontario-Dominion Relations). 1938-39.
 Pattullo: Dominion-Provincial Relations. 1946-47.
see also Canada: Provincial Affairs.

East

- Dewhurst: The Struggle for the Middle East. 1956-57.
 Foster: Glimpses of the East. 1913-14.

East: Far East

- Beaton: Impact of World Forces in the Far East. 1935-36.
 Imrie: New Markets in the Orient. 1931.
 Matsudaira: Japan's Position in the Far East. 1954-55.
 May: Indo-China and the Japanese. 1940-41.
 McKay: India and the Far East. 1907-08.
 Rodomar: Conflicting Interests of China, Japan and Russia in the Far East. 1937-38.
 Wassell: War in the Far East. 1944-45.
 Williams: The Fabulous Orient. 1960-61.
 Woodside: Next Few Weeks in the Far East. 1941-42.

East: Near East

- Amery: Britain's Interests in the East. 1929.

Economics

- Diefenbaker: Is the Declaration of Washington an Answer to the Russian World Economic Challenge? 1955-56.

- Gordon: Realism or Fatalism. 1961-62.
 Hayman: The Next Decade. 1959-60.
 Hume: Peace Through Investment - A Challenge to the Capitalist Countries. 1960-61.
 Jodoin: The Challenge of 1963. 1962-63.
 Lesage: Quebec's Place in World Economy. 1960-61.
 Little: Expanding Trade - The Positive Approach to Economic Growth. 1962-63.
 Miller: The Significant Four Years Ahead. 1956-57.
 Randall: The Challenge from the Americas. 1961-62.
 Townsend: A Great Economic Opportunity. 1963-64.
 Twaits: Formula for Growth. 1960-61.
 Wedgwood: The Economic Consequences of General DeGaulle. 1963-64.
 Woodside: Why So Much Gloom? 1961-62.

Education

- Ash: Duke of Edinburgh's Second Commonwealth Study Conference. 1961-62.
 Baldwin: Educational Ideals. 1927.
 Burwash: Imperialism in Education. 1903-04.
 Claxton: Education and Wealth. 1919.
 Davies: Education and the Future of Civilization. 1935-36.
 Diemand: In Search of Knowledge. 1955-56.
 Duncan: Education and the Cold War. 1956-57.
 Falconer: Educational Services in the Canadian Army (W.W. I). 1917-18.

- Fay: How Education Strengthens the Links of Empire. 1921.
- Goggin: Technical Education and Industrial Development. 1905-06.
- Goldring: Are the Schools Preparing Youth to take Over? 1948-49.
- What Makes a Good School? 1953-54.
- Men, Music and Schools. 1954-55.
- Hall: Who's Who and Why. 1957-58.
- Haney: Industrial Education. 1907-08.
- Hughes: New Developments in Education. 1905-06.
- Modern Educational Methods. 1907-08.
- Igmatieff: Canada's Challenge to Its Youth. 1937-38.
- Kemp: Technical Education. 1911-12.
- Laing: Education Today – Are We in Tune with the Times? 1950-51.
- Langford: Educating a Democracy. 1942-43.
- Lank: Education and Industry. 1954-55.
- Leacock: Education and Empire Unity. 1906-07.
- Leverhulme: Education and Commerce. 1919.
- Livingstone, L. D.: Adult Education. 1945-46.
- Livingstone, R. W.: Public School Influence on British Character. 1927.
- MacFarlane: The Modern Medical School – Its Aims and Obligations. 1944-45.
- McArthur: Education and the Empire. 1940-41.
- Pyne: Industrial Education. 1908-09.
- Randall: Education in Business. 1927.
- Ross: Liberal Education for a Free Society. 1959-60.
- Rowntree: Energy and Common Sense in Education and Empire. 1928.
- Sowby: An Experiment in Education (St. Columba's College, Ireland). 1949-50.
- Stembridge: Training Britain's Youth. 1938-39.
- Taylor: Imperial Plans in Education. 1919.
- Tory: A New Overseas Problem (Army education). 1917-18.
- Wright: The Development of Men. 1959-60.
- Edward VII**
- Robertson: King Edward's Keys. 1909-10.
- Egypt**
- Durrelly: Present Unrest in Zwemer: Egyptian and Arabian Problems. 1921.
- Linstead: Egypt. 1956-57.
- Empire and Commonwealth**
- Arden-Clark: Empire into Commonwealth. 1958-59.
- Ash: Duke of Edinburgh's Second Commonwealth Study Conference. 1961-62.
- Amery: British League of Nations. 1920.
- Amory: The Commonwealth. 1961-62.
- Angell: What is Happening in the British Empire? 1932.
- Athlone: Address. 1940-41.
- Empire. 1942-43.
- Barrie: Lloyds of London. 1959-60.
- Benn: The New British Commonwealth. 1933-34.
- Bessborough: Address on Empire. (Special luncheon meeting in his honour.) 1931.
- Bradley: Empire of Mankind. 1950-51.

- Cahan: Pending Developments in the Constitution of the British Empire. 1929.
- Caldwell: Europe and the British Empire. 1927.
- Cavan: Empire Problems of Today. 1921.
- Cave: Meaning of the Empire Today. 1920.
- Chamberlain: Imperial Solidarity. 1922.
- Churchill: British Imperial Interests. 1929.
- Clark: The British Empire, Its Growth and Power. 1920.
- Clarke: The Commonwealth as Educator. 1933-34.
- Clutterbuck: Looking Ahead in the Commonwealth. 1950-51.
- Cockshutt: British Empire Development. 1924.
- Cody: Religious Contributions towards Imperial Unity. 1908-09.
- Codu: Growth and Genius of the British Empire. 1922.
- Guarding our Heritage. 1939-40.
- Copeland: Changing Concepts of Commonwealth. 1953-54.
- Coupland: The British Empire and the World Crisis. 1933-34.
- Cranston: Empire Questions. 1906-07.
- Diefenbaker: British Commonwealth Today. 1951-52.
- Douglas: British Commonwealth in a Bewildered World. 1947-48.
- Drew: Old Loyalties with New Meaning. 1951-52.
- Dunning: What Does Our Empire Mean To Us? 1937-38.
- Dutton: Throne and Empire. 1925.
- Finlay: Some Imperial Problems. 1919.
- Fleck: The Changing Commonwealth. 1954-55.
- Foster: Trend of Empire. 1909-10.
- Ties of Empire. 1925.
- Fry: Bonds of Commonwealth Life. 1923.
- Gough: Difficulties and Opportunities of the British Empire. 1921.
- Gow: Rambles Through the British Empire. 1906-07.
- Gower-Rees: Sharing the Responsibilities of Empire. 1943-44.
- Has the British Empire Completed its Task? 1946-47.
- Grove: Nationhood Within the Empire. 1929.
- Guedella: The Past and the Present. 1933-34.
- Hailey: British Colonies in the Future. 1942-43.
- Harvey: Spirit and Cohesion of the Empire. 1921.
- Helme: Empire Old and New. 1911-12.
- Hill: Empire Relations — Personal and Impersonal. 1926.
- Hopkins: The Wider Patriotism. 1910-11.
- Hoyle: Imperial Development. 1912-13.
- Hutton: Problems of the British Empire. 1937-38.
- James: The Future of the Empire. 1956-57.
- Jones: The British Commonwealth and Canadian Wheat. 1953-54.
- Jellicoe: Address on Empire. (Special luncheon in his honour.) 1931.
- Kylie: Present Position of the Imperial Problem. 1912-13.
- Leather: What Good is the Commonwealth. 1963-64.

- Empire. 1931.
 Lithgow: Trade Within the
 Low: Commonwealth that Will
 Endure. 1946-47.
 MacDonald: Empire in These
 Days. 1942-43.
 Madden: The British Empire.
 1910-11.
 Martin: Links of Empire. 1927.
 McKinnon. A Canadian's View
 of Empire as Seen from
 London. 1926.
 Mitchell: Survey of the Empire:
 Its Problems and Prospects.
 1921.
 Molson: Certain Phases of the
 Empire. 1926.
 Mond: Empire Development.
 1923.
 Monserrat: The Commonwealth
 in the 20th Century. 1953-54.
 Neel: Music and the Empire.
 1953-54.
 Neville: Imperial Organization.
 1915-16.
 Ney: Empire in Africa and the
 Middle East. 1945-46.
 – Commonwealth on Trial.
 1948-49.
 Nye: Some Aspects of the
 Commonwealth. (Fiftieth
 anniversary meeting.)
 1953-54.
 Perley: Practical Consolidation
 of the Empire. 1916-17.
 Philip: World Without the
 Empire. 1947-48.
 Pickersgill: The New Common-
 wealth and New Canadians.
 1955-56.
 Roblin: The Commonwealth
 Parliamentary Association
 in Canada. 1959-60.
 Rowell: Our Imperial
 Relations. 1912-13.
 Russell: By-products of Empire.
 1929.
 Rylie: Outlook of Empire.
 1932.
 Smith-Ross: Empire in a
 Changing World. 1943-44.
 Sutherland: Development of the
 Imperial Idea. 1905-06.
 Sweeny: The Subject and the
 Empire. 1909-10.
 Swinton: The Commonwealth ..
 and Britain's Economic
 Recovery. 1954-55.
 Tweedsmuir: Free World
 Partnership. 1950-51.
 Tweedsmuir, Lady: The Com-
 monwealth at the U.N.
 1960-61.
 Vijayaraghavacharya: Empire
 Building. 1926.
 – England, Canada and India.
 1945-46.
 Waugh: Some Disruptive
 Influences in the British
 Commonwealth. 1929.
 Willingdon: Address on Empire
 and Commonwealth. (Special
 luncheon meeting in his
 honour.) 1930.
 Willison: Imperial Reorganiza-
 tion. 1915-16.
 Winnington-Ingram: Bonds of
 the British Empire. 1926.
see also Crime, Empire Parli-
 mentary Association, gold,
 Imperial Conference,
 Imperial Economic Confer-
 ence, Postage, Telegraphs,
 Wembley.
Empire and Commonwealth:
Co-operation
 Amery: Imperial Co-operation.
 1928.
 Croft: Imperial Co-operation in
 Defence and Trade. 1912-13.
 – Empire Unity – The Bulwark
 of Civilization. 1938-39.
 Cumberland: Imperial Unity.
 1903-04.
 Downey: Empire Conditions
 and Problems. 1905-06.
 Drew: Our Most Secret Hopes.
 1942-43.

Hislop: Some Impressions from a Sister Dominion. 1951-52.

Pankhurst: The (first World) War, and the Sons and Daughters of the Empire. 1917-18.

Smuts: Freemasonry of Empire. 1929.

Somerville: British Commonwealth and Empire Co-operation. 1945-46.

Stewart: Closer Empire Unity. 1943-44.

Willingdon: International, Empire and Dominion Co-operation. 1926.

Empire and Commonwealth: Defence

Allan: Defence of the Empire. 1912-13.

Barker: Imperial Defence and Tariff Reform. 1910-11.

Clark: Empire Conditions and Imperial Defence. 1905-06.

d'Egville: Imperial Defence. 1908-09.

Hamilton: Imperial Naval Strategy. 1910-11.

Hughes: Defence of the Empire. 1904-05.

Long: Imperial Trade and Imperial Defence. 1912-13.

Mason and others: Canada and Imperial Defence. 1905-06.

Peterson: Naval Question in its Relation to the Empire. 1909-10.

Philips: Organization of the Military Forces of the Empire. 1911-12.

Willison: War and Empire. 1913-14.

Empire and Commonwealth: Laws

Denton: Systems of Law Within the Empire. 1909-10.

Empire and Commonwealth: Protectorates

Yalden-Thomson: What is to Become of the British Protectorates? 1943-44.

Empire and Commonwealth: Trade

Carrel: Romance of Intra-Empire Trade. 1912-13.

Croft: Imperial Co-operation in Defence and Trade. 1912-13.

DuMoulin: Two Pillars of the Empire. 1903-04.

Elibank: Empire Trade. 1934-35.

Graham: Scottish Link in the Empire. 1939-40.

LeMaistre: Empire Trade Requires Uniform Standards. 1932.

Long: Imperial Trade and Imperial Defence. 1912-13.

Macaulay: Empire Trade. 1930.

Taplin: Commonwealth Trade and Beyond. 1954-55.

Empire Club

Clark: The Empire Club of Canada and its Ideal of Imperialism. 1903-04.

Davies: The Empire Club and Public Opinion. 1926.

Empire Day

Cody: Empire Day. 1919.

Empire Parliamentary Association

d'Egville: Democracy and World Affairs. 1937-38.

Ross: Empire Parliamentary Association Visit to Australia and New Zealand. 1944-45.

English Language

DuMoulin: Two Pillars of the Empire. 1903-04.

Employment

Walker: What We are Doing and What You Can Do about Employment. 1960-61.

Eskimos

Livingstone: Twenty-five Years
Amongst the Eskimos.
1945-46.

Ethiopia

Mercer: Ethiopia and Its
Problems. 1935-36.

Europe

Alexander: Some Aspects of
the Free World's Concern
with the Satellite Nations of
East Europe. 1959-60.

Baldensperger: An Unofficial
Frenchman's View of the
European Situation. 1935-36.

Baxter: World from West-
minster. 1939-40.

Brown: New Alignments in
Europe. 1935-36.

Caldwell: Europe and the
British Empire. 1927.

Chipman: Europe, Our Next-
door Neighbour. 1948-49.

Clark: London to Paris to
Rome. 1938-39.

Duncan: Europe Still Holds the
Key. 1948-49.

Falconer: London, Paris,
Geneva. 1925.

Ferguson: Conditions in Britain
and Europe. 1928.

Fleming: Pulse of Western
Europe. 1952-53.

Frost: Spotlight on Europe.
1937-38.

— The European Checkerboard.
1938-39.

Gelber: Britain versus Europe.
1950-51.

King-Hall: United Europe.
1947-48.

Long: Europe is Dying. 1949-50.

McCreary: Condition of
Civilians in Western Europe
at the Conclusion of the
German Occupation.
1946-47.

McCullagh: Testing Time.
1949-50.

Macmillan: Europe 1937
Prospect and Retrospect.
1936-37.

Masaryk: Conflicts of Doctrines
in Europe. 1938-39.

Mooney: U.N.R.R.A. Reports
on Europe. 1945-46.

Price: Battle for Europe's
Mind. 1948-49.

Smith-Ross: Europe — A Search
for Ideas. 1944-45.

Smith: A Two-way Iron
Curtain. 1955-56.

Valk: The Theatre in Europe
and the Americas. 1955-56.

Wilmut: Struggle for Europe.
1951-52.

Wrong: The European
Situation. 1924.

Everest, Mount

Odell: The Assault on Everest.
1928.

Wheeler: Mount Everest
Expedition. 1923.

Finance

Funston: More International
Bridges. 1952-53.

James: Inflation and War
Finance. 1940-41.

Paish: World's Financial
Situation. 1920.

Towers: Expectations and
Events. 1950-51.

see also Banking, Canada,
Finance, Credit, Money.

Fisheries

Kelly: National Importance of
the Salmon Industry. 1928.

Morine: Newfoundland
Fisheries Question. 1906-07.

Prince: Canada's Fishery
Resources. 1916-17.

Fishing

McGillen: If You're Too Busy
to Go Fishing — You're Too
Busy. 1951-52.

Flags

Cumberland: Union Jack of the Empire. 1906-07.

Murray and others: Flying of Flags in Canada. 1906-07.

Floods

Eddy: Floods. 1936-37.

Folk Songs

Barbeau: Folk Songs of French Canada. 1925; 1929.

Gibbon: The Music of the People. 1929.

Food Supply

Colby: Food Situation Overseas (W.W. I). 1917-18.

Gardiner: Food. 1945-46.

Forests

Ambridge: Fears and Fancies of the Forests. 1954-55.

Black: Paying Our War Debt with Timber Crops. 1921.

Carrel: Save Our Timber and Forest Industries. 1940-41.

Langlier: Forest Wealth of Canada. 1906-07.

Southworth: Future of Canadian Forests. 1904-05.

France

D'Harcourt: Watch on the Rhine. 1944-45.

Lacoste: The Present Day Sprit in France. 1955-56.

Pau: France and her Allies. (W.W. I). 1919.

Schmitz: Sacrifice, Fall and Resurgence of Fighting France. 1943-44.

Siegfried: France and her Allies (W.W. I). 1919.

Squair: France Through Canadian Eyes. 1916-17.

Tabouis: Resistance in France. 1942-43.

Will: Case for France. 1923.
- A Royalist Fiasco. 1933-34.

Franklin, Benjamin

Riddell: Benjamin Franklin and Canada. 1923.

Freedom

Reuther: Peace, Freedom, Social Justice - Indivisible Values. 1956-57.

Roberts: Our Spiritual and Moral Inheritance. 1927.

Romney: International Bridge of Freedom. 1960-61.

Trotter: Canada's Partnership in Freedom. 1946-47.

Whitton: Fundamental Liberties. 1952-53.

Freedom of the Seas

Munro: Freedom of the Seas. 1930.

George V

Williams: The Men Who Saved England. 1931.

Georgian Bay Canal

Hopewell: Georgian Bay Waterway Project. 1911-12.

Germany

Beaubien: Hitlerism. 1939-40.

D'Harcourt: Watch on the Rhine. 1944-45.

Dewhurst: The Berlin Crisis. 1958-59.

Drew: Germany Prepares for Conquest. 1935-36.

- Prime Minister Reports. 1947-48.

Fleming: Where the Iron Curtain Falls. 1948-49.

Harding: Post-War Treatment of Germany. 1944-45.

Horning: Germany of Today. 1908-09.

Jaenicke: Challenge to Germany - 1961. 1960-61.

Johnston: A Study of the Kaiser. 1916-17.

Lange: The New Germany. 1932.

Mann: The Reich and the German Minorities. 1938-39.

Ratcliffe: Hitler's Demands: How Britain Meets Them. 1937-38.

- Riddell: The Prussian Mind. 1916-17.
 Ryerson: The New Germany. 1909-10.
 Siegfried: Expellees – A Problem of a Divided Germany. 1959-60.
 Snyder: What is Happening in Germany? 1925.
 Sommerville: Germany and Austria at the Outbreak of War (W.W. I). 1914-15.
 Spencer: Germany: The Anatomy of a Crisis. 1961-62.
 Woodside: A Whole World Against Us (Nazi movement). 1934-35.
- Gilbert and Sullivan**
 Hobbs: Gilbert and Sullivan Operas. 1934-35.
 Stewart and Grier: Gilbert and Sullivan. 1932.
- Gold**
 Coleman: Gold and the Empire. 1906-07.
- Government Ownership**
 Maclean: State Ownership of Railways. 1904-05.
 Smith: Britain's Experience of Public Ownership. 1905-06.
 White: Public Ownership of Public Utilities. 1905-06.
- Government Regulation and Control.**
 Harvey: Free Men or Automats. 1945-46.
 Loughheed: Leviathan or Post-War Trends in Government and Business. 1947-48.
 Mathieson: State and Foreign Trade. 1946-47.
 Moore: Social Order. 1942-43.
 Winters: Government and Private Enterprise. 1958-59.
- Great Britain**
 Barkway: Report on Britain. 1946-47.
- Barrie: Lloyd's of London. 1959-60.
 Baxter: What I Have Seen Over There and Over Here. 1941-42.
 Bennett: Retrospect and Prophecy. 1939-40.
 Birkett: Secret of the Spirit of Britain. 1941-42.
 – Britain and Canada – Brothers in Arms. 1942-43.
 Brockington: St. George and Merrie England. 1953-54.
 Casgrain: At the Heart of the Empire. 1911-12.
 Church: World's Debt to England. 1917-18.
 Davis: British Films. 1953-54.
 Douglas: British Commonwealth in a Bewildered World. 1947-48.
 Drew: Britain in the Third Year. 1941-42.
 – Britain Sees it Through. 1943-44.
 – Britain Goes Over the Top. 1954-55.
 Falconer: Present Conditions in Great Britain. 1954-55.
 Ferguson: Conditions in Britain and Europe. 1928.
 – Some Impressions of My Stay in England. 1935-36.
 Garner: Britain – Today and Tomorrow. 1956-57.
 Hincks: England's Place Among the Nations. 1909-10.
 Ingram: How England Meets Her Difficulties. 1931.
 Johnson: Embattled Britain. 1940-41.
 King-Hall: Britain and the Future. 1943-44.
 Knollys: Britain Today and Tomorrow. 1958-59.
 Lindsay: English Landscape and Personality. 1931.

Lloyd-George: Today and Tomorrow in Britain. 1951-52.
 MacNaughton: The Old Country Re-visited. 1921.
 Parker: Views on the General Situation in Great Britain. 1923.
 Partridge: Conditions in Great Britain and America. 1935-36.
 Philip: Going On to the End. 1944-45.
 Renison: To Britain and Return. 1941-42.
 Ross: Some Deductions from the Imperial Press Conference. 1909-10.
 Sanderson: St. George Meets New Dragons. 1945-46.
 Sclater: A New Canadian's Impressions of Britain. 1925.
 Smith: Roman Occupation of Britain. 1906-07.
 Snider: War with the Blinds Down. 1939-40.
 – Blinds Up in Britain. 1941-42.
 Thomson: Puzzling Years Ahead. 1944-45.
 Turner: Life and Customs of Rural England. 1926.
 Wrench: Old Country Carries On. 1940-41.

Great Britain: Constitution

Aylesworth: The Crown. 1927.
 Riddell: British Monarchy. 1910-11.
 Ross: Place for the King in the British Constitution. 1909-10.

Great Britain: Consular Service

Campbell: The British Consular Service. 1931.

Great Britain: Courts of Law

Merriman: The Symbol of Admiralty Jurisdiction. 1935-36.

Great Britain: Culture

MacDonald, Miss S: Why Paint in War Time? (Cultural activities in war.) 1942-43.
 MacLagan: Effect of War on British Culture. 1948-49.

Great Britain: Defence

Edwards: England's Greatest Needs. 1910-11.

Great Britain: Economic Conditions

Baxter: Behind the Scenes. 1932.
 Clark: Great Britain – Progress and Prospects. 1933-34.
 – Progress and Prospects in Britain. 1946-47.
 Clutterbuck: Outlook Today. 1948-49.
 Davies: National and Social Reconstruction in Britain. 1917-18.
 Fay: Labour Situation in Great Britain. 1924.
 Ferguson: Conditions in Britain and Europe. 1928.
 Goldenberg: Economic Recovery in Great Britain and the United States. 1934-35.
 Macmillan: Industrial Conditions in the Homeland. 1928.

Rootes: British Need for Raw Materials for Increased Productivity. 1951-52.

Swinton: The Commonwealth and Britain's Economic Recovery. 1954-55.

Pilkington: Our Common Wealth. 1955-56.

Great Britain: Foreign Relations

Curtis: Britain's Part in International Affairs. 1929.

Davidson: Britain's New Responsibilities. 1935-36.

Gelber: Britain versus Europe. 1950-51.

King: The British Answer to Communism. 1954-55.

Neville: British Diplomacy. 1908-09.

Stewart: World Conspiracy against Anglo-American Friendship. 1920.

Great Britain: History

Bready: Why Britain Still Leads. 1939-40.

Great Britain: Navy

Evans: Navy. 1941-42.

Jellicoe: British Navy. 1919.

Phillips-Wolley: Navy and the Empire. 1910-11.

Wright: British Navy. 1917-18.
- British Sea Power. 1919.

Great Britain: Politics and Government

Baldwin: British Election. 1949-50.

Baxter: Behind the Scenes. 1932.
- From the Heart of Things. 1937-38.

- World Today and Tomorrow. 1949-50.

Borden: Recent Developments in Parliamentary Institutions. 1905-06.

Campion: Forty Years in the British House of Commons. 1952-53.

Edwards: England's Greatest Needs. 1910-11.

Fraser: Present Political Situation in England. 1931.

Hossack: British Politicians. 1907-08.

Pratt: British Politics and Reciprocity. 1910-11.

Snowden: The First Labour Government of Great Britain. 1925.

Tweedsmuir: Some New Elements in British Politics. 1924.

Lothian: The Political Future in England 1934-35.

Lowther: The Mother of Parliaments. 1921.

Morine: Parliamentary Crisis in the United Kingdom. 1909-10.

Perks: Modern British Liberalism and the Empire. 1909-10.

Great Britain: Religion

Bready: Why Britain Still Leads. 1939-40.

Green: Faith of a Briton. 1952-53.

Great Britain: Royal Air Force

Bowhill: Coastal Command and its Work with the Royal Navy. 1941-42.

Marix: Some Aspects of the R.A.F. Transport Command. 1943-44.

Witt: With the R.A.F. Over Europe. 1941-42.

Great Britain: Trade

Runge: Some Problems of British-Canadian Trade. 1963-64.

Great Britain and the United States

Ball: Anglo-American Responsibilities. 1940-41.

MacNaughton: One Thing Needful. 1919.

Rothbone: The Tie that Binds. 1919.

Stewart: British and American Relations. 1919.

Great Lakes

Coleman: History of the Great Lakes and the Chicago Drainage Canal. 1923.

MacNicol: The Disastrous Depletion of the Great Lakes. 1936-37.

Rose: Greatness of the Great Lakes. 1935-36.

Ward: Canada's Interest in the Recent Decision of the United States Supreme Court

in the Matter of the Chicago
Drainage Canal. 1930.

Greece:

Fleming: Where the Iron
Curtain Falls. 1948-49.

MacDonald: Present Situation.
1944-45.

Hardy, Thomas

Edgar: Thomas Hardy. 1928.

Lascelles: The Dynasts.
1915-16.

Windle: Thomas Hardy, the
Novelist. 1924.

Health

Dymond: Ontario's Number
One Health Problem.
1960-61.

Lincoln: Good Health is Good
Business. 1952-53.

Vincent: The British Empire
and World Health. 1929.

see also Hospitals.

History

Pickersgill: Mr. Mackenzie
King and the Development of
the Commonwealth of
Nations. 1953-54.

Trevelyan: History and
Literature. 1924.

Hitler, Adolf

Beaubien: Hitlerism. 1939-40.

Forbes: Dictators and
Democrats. 1939-40.

Hockey

Campbell: Hockey as a Business
and a Career. 1962-63.

Holland

Fung: Axis Occupation of
Holland. 1941-42.

Honduras

Swayne: India and British
Honduras. 1908-09.

Hospitals

Carter: Hospital Problems in
Peace and War. 1939-40.

Hudson Bay Railway

Webb: Hudson Bay Railway
and Immigration. 1926.

Hudson Bay

Amery: Hudson Bay: Its
Condition and Problems.
1910-11.

Stupart: Navigation of Hudson
Bay and Straits. 1903-04.

Humour

Hicks: Humour. 1928.

Moore: The Melancholy of
Laughter. 1934-35.

Hungary

Apponyi: Social and Economic
History of Hungary: Its
Present Outlook. 1923.

Doman: Hungary at the
Crossroads. 1939-40.

Hydro-Electric Power

Greene: Niagara Power and the
Future of Ontario. 1906-07.

Hogg: Hydro and the St.
Lawrence. 1939-40.

Nicholls: Niagara's Power:
Past, Present, Prospective.
1904-05.

Saunders: Chairman Reports.
1947-48.

— Your Hydro Chairman
Reports. 1948-49.

— Case for the St. Lawrence
Power Project. 1951-52.

Smith: Hydro-electric Power
Question. 1906-07.

Immigrants and Immigration

Brickner: Immigration and
Colonization. 1922.

Bryce: Civic Responsibility and
the Increase of Immigration.
1906-07.

Floud: Some Aspects of the
Migration Problem. 1936-37.

Heaton: Scientific Colonization
— A Suggestion. 1911-12.

Hornby: British Settlement in
Canada. 1933-34.

James: The Peopling of Ontario. 1910-11.
 Keenleyside: Canadian Immigration Policy. 1948-49.
 Kirkconnell: Canada and Immigration. 1943-44.
 Macmillan: Problems of Population. 1911-12.
 Magrath: A Sane Scheme of Colonization. 1928.
 Manning: Canadian Immigration and Consequent Problems. 1909-10.
 Neff: Can Canada Remain British. 1936-37.
 Nelson: Oriental Immigration. 1923.
 Noxon: Some Impressions of Empire Settlement. 1922.
 Petersen: Canada at the Crossroads. 1926.
 Sastri: East Indians in Canada. 1922.
 Sundar Singh: Sikhs in Canada. 1911-12.
 Webb: Hudson Bay Railway and Immigration. 1926.
 White: Canada's Immigration Problems. 1928.

Imperial Conference

Brodeur: Imperial Conference of 1907. 1907-08.
 Foster: Imperial Conference of 1907. 1907-08.
 Swanson: Imperial Conference (1930) and Canada's Economic Problems. 1930.

Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa, 1932

Ferguson: The Imperial Economic Conference. 1932.
 Hurd: The New Empire Partnership. 1932.

Imperial Preference

Wilgress: Imperial Preference and GATT. 1960-61.

Imperial War Graves Commission

Osborne: The Great Remembrance. 1929.
 Ware: A Successful Experiment in Imperial Co-operation. 1925.

Imperialism

Bryce: Imperialism. 1911-12.
 Campbell: Imperialism in Canada. 1904-05.
 Clark: The Empire Club of Canada and its Ideal of Imperialism. 1903-04.
 Ferguson: Imperial History. 1903-04.
 Jebb and Leng: Some Aspects of Imperialism. 1905-06.
 Milligan: Imperialism. 1906-07.
 Powell: Scientific Imperialism. 1920.
 Walker: Practical Imperialism. 1903-04.

Idealism

Canterbury: Personal Responsibility and Interdependence. 1963-64.
 David: Mobilizing our Ideas and Ideals. 1950-51.
 Douglas: Impatient Idealists. 1942-43.

India

Ahuja: New India. 1945-46.
 Ali: The True India. 1932.
 Brett: Present Conditions and Future Prospects in India. 1908-09.
 Carter: India and the Empire. 1920.
 Cory: Our Indian Empire. 1926.
 Currie: Political Situation in India. 1931.
 Elliott: Federal India. 1932.
 Ferguson: India Today. 1950-51.
 Holland: Changing India. 1937-38.

Hunter: India in Transition. 1931.
 Ironside: India and the Empire. 1935-36.
 Joshi: New Forces in Old India. 1921.
 Khan: India's Position in the War. 1942-43.
 King: Political Situation in India. 1922.
 Lloyd: The Indian Empire: Tariff Reform. 1910-11.
 Lothian: Our Indian Partner. 1933-34.
 McKay: India and the Far East. 1907-08.
 McLaurin: India's Future in the Empire. 1925.
 Mahsi: Political Situation in India. 1924.
 Malik: India. 1939-40.
 – New India. 1948-49.
 Morison: Will Britain Retain India? 1921.
 Mudaliar: The India of Tomorrow. 1933-34.
 Nehru: India – Today and Tomorrow. 1960-61.
 Noon: Britain in India. 1938-39.
 Pilcher: British Achievement in India. 1931.
 Raja-Singham: India and the Empire. 1934-35.
 Rau: Links between Canada and India. 1950-51.
 Rauf: Foreign Policy of India. 1955-56.
 Rustomjee: Quo Vadis, India? 1921.
 Simon: India. 1930.
 Singh: India's Fight for Freedom. 1937-38.
 Swayne: India and the British Honduras. 1908-09.
 Venkatachar: India and the Sixties. 1959-60.
 Vijayaraghavacharya: England, Canada and India. 1945-46.

Wadia: Conditions in India Today. 1922.
 Wilkinson: India Today. 1953-54.

Indians

Harris: Cradle Lands of Canadian Indians. 1916-17.

Indo-China

May: Indo-China and the Japanese. 1940-41.

Industry

Blancke: Modern Concept of Industrialism. 1951-52.
 Eaton: The New Organ of Civilization. 1924.
 Kavanagh: Family Life of Big Business. 1937-38.
 Lank: Education and Industry. 1954-55.
 Purvis: Manufacturing as a Profession. 1934-35.

Insurance

Barrie: Lloyd's of London. 1959-60.
 Bruce-Lockhart: Why Medicare in Ontario? 1962-63.
 Heaton: Commercialism in Fire Insurance. 1905-06.

International Affairs

Alexander: Some Aspects of the Free World's Concern with the Satellite Nations of East Europe. 1959-60.
 Anderson: Internationalism. 1924.
 Aroutunian: Some Reflections on Khrushchev's Visit to the U.S.A. and the Further Development of Soviet-Canadian Relations. 1959-60.
 Atherton: Looking Forward to the Post-War World. 1944-45.
 Bassett: Report of Another Journey. 1957-58.
 Beck: World Today. 1947-48.

- Brickner: The World Crisis and the Outlook. 1932.
- Bridges: Investment of Friendship. 1947-48.
- Buchan: The United States and Co-existence. 1954-55.
- Catlin: Role of Canada in the Challenge of the East to the West. 1947-48.
- Chisholm: World Health. 1950-51.
- Cromie: Our Times Viewed from a World Perspective. 1933-34.
- Crosby: Next-door Neighbours. 1905-06.
- Diefenbaker: Six Significant Weeks in World History. 1945-46.
- Eden: Address. 1946-47.
- Eisendrath: Wide, Wide World. 1958-59.
- Fosdick: The Challenge of International Relations to North America. 1925.
- Fotitch: Small Nations in World Affairs and their Role in the Future Organization of the Peace. 1943-44.
- Fyfe: Fourteen Years of Peace. 1932.
- Gruenther: Men, Missiles and Misunderstandings. 1959-60.
- Hammaraskjold: An Address. 1953-54.
- Howard: International Affairs. 1926.
- Jerrold: Present Condition of England. 1949-50.
– World Situation. 1950-51.
- Kahn: An International Survey. 1924.
- Lynch: Is Diplomacy Really Necessary? 1957-58.
- McGeer: Canada's Place in World Affairs. 1937-38.
- Mess: What is the British Point of View? 1938-39.
- Moore: So Its Dulles Ditch-water. 1956-57.
- Munro: World Politics of Canada and the Empire. 1928.
- Neville: Challenge of Our Time. 1956-57.
- Norwood: International Relations. 1930.
- Paish: The World Danger and the Way Out. 1931.
- Pearkes: Canada's International Commitments. 1957-58.
- Phillip: Uncertain Future. 1945-46.
– Cross-roads. 1948-49.
– Road Before Us. 1950-51.
– Let's Return to Diplomacy. 1951-52.
– Union or Harmony. 1952-53.
- Riddell: International Economic Co-operation. 1927.
- Robinson: International Aspects of American Race Relations. 1961-62.
- Ross: World Unrest – A Suggested Cure. 1926.
- Rowell: Will the Suggested Seven-power Treaty Take the Place of the Protocol? 1925.
- Schurman: Our International Outlook. 1921.
- Shatford: International Peace and Good Will. 1923.
- Slaght: Threat to World Freedom. 1948-49.
- Smith: A Two-way Iron Curtain. 1955-56.
- Stewart: Present Challenge to British Imperialism. 1936-37.
– Essentials of the Coming Peace. 1942-43.
- Strabolgi: International Situation. 1947-48.
- Swensrud: International Co-operation. 1956-57.
- Tweedsmuir: Free World Partnership. 1950-51.

Van Paassen: Frontiers of Hope and Despair. 1933-34.
 Willingdon: International, Empire and Dominion Co-operation. 1926.
 Wilson, C. E.: Good Neighbours. 1958-59.
 Wilson, D. V.: P.S.I. - Project, Samaritan, International. 1956-57.
 Woodside: Winning Without War. 1951-52.
 Wriston: One Bite at a Time. 1952-53.

International Labour Conference

Moore: International Labour Conference (1921). 1922.
 Parsons: International Labour Conference in Washington. 1920.
 - League of Nations and International Labour Conference, Geneva (1921). 1922.

International Labour Office

Jenks: I.L.O. Looks Forward. 1943-44.

International Law

Doherty: Establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. 1921.
 Macfarland: Supreme Court of the World. 1912-13.

Iran

Young: Iran's Current Problems. 1946-47.

Ireland

Baird: Conditions in Ireland. 1922.
 Burke: The Irishman's Place in the Empire. 1909-10.
 Coote: The Irish Problem. 1920.
 Kiernan: The Irish Mind. 1956-57.
 Long: A Tourist's View of Ireland. 1955-56.

Phillips: Irishman as an Empire Builder. 1911-12.

Smiddy: Economic Conditions and Policies of the Irish Free State. 1926.

Tarr: What Next in Ireland? 1937-38.

see also Ulster.

Ireland (Northern)

O'Neill: A Northern Ireland Point of View. 1963-64.

Italy

Colonna: Italy and World Affairs. 1933-34.
 Gini: Demographic Policy of the Italian Government. 1930.
 Guglielmotti: Italian Problem in the Adriatic. 1919.
 Jones: Fascism. 1933-34.
see also Mussolini.

Japan

Carney: Strength and Threat of Japan. 1943-44.
 Matsudaira: Japan's Position in the Far East. 1954-55.
 May: Indo-China and the Japanese. 1940-41.
 Miyaoka: Growth of Representative Government in Japan. 1917-18.
 Ryerson: Occidental Japan. 1904-05.
 Shortt: Our Japanese Allies (W.W. I). 1914-15.

Jazz

O'Hara: Jazz: Whence? Why? Whither? 1924.

Jews

Jackson: Anti-Semitism. 1939-40.
 Jacobs: Jews and Patriotism. 1915-16.

Journalism

Berton: Is the Press Too Sensational? 1959-60.

Daniell and Lond: Addresses by the Canadian Correspondents for the New York Times. 1953-54.

Lord: Journalism in England. 1906-07.

Pense: Journalism in Canada. 1905-06.

Robbins: Press Pilgrim's Progress. 1950-51.

see also Newspapers.

Jugoslavia

Savic: Jugo-Slavs and the Problem of the Adriatic. 1919.

see also Tito, Marshal.

Kipling, Rudyard

Pidgeon: Kipling the Poet of Empire. 1935-36.

Korea

Brown: Korea – Today. 1957-58.

Korean War

Boss: Korean Report. 1951-52.

Law

Beaudoin: Summoned to the Bar. 1955-56.

Bull and Martin: Is This Justice? 1956-57.

Freedman: Some Aspects of My Profession. 1960-61.

Maloney and Sedgwick: The Death Penalty – For and Against. 1954-55.

McClellan: The Law is Your Business. 1962-63.

Labour

Goldenberg: Facing Facts in Labour Relations. 1962-63.

Jodoin: The Canadian Labour Congress and Free Trade Unions Throughout the World. 1956-57.

– The Challenge of 1963. 1962-63.

see also Capital and Labour, International Labour Con-

ference, International Labour Office, Trade Unions

Labrador

Forsyth: Life and Medical Work on the Labrador. 1937-38.

Grenfell: Story of Labrador Medical Mission. 1921.

Retty: Iron Ore Deposits of Labrador and New Quebec. 1949-50.

Latin America

Duncan: Latin America on the March – A Valuable Partnership. 1952-53.

Leadership

Owen: Leadership. 1934-35.

League of Nations

Cecil: The Commonwealth and the League of Nations. 1933-34.

Foster: League of Nations and the First Assembly at Geneva. 1921.

Grant: Does Canada Take the League of Nations Seriously? 1933-34.

Marburg: Cetrain Features of the Paris Constitution. 1919.

Parsons: League of Nations and International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1921. 1922.

Riddell: The United States and the League of Nations. 1925.

Rowell: Will the Suggested Seven-power Treaty take the Place of the Protocol? 1925.

Seager: Canada and the League of Nations. 1924.

Zimmern: The International Situation and the Protocol. 1925.

Leisure

Tweedsmuir: The Art of Living. 1935-36.

Liberty

see Freedom.

Lincoln, Abraham

MacNeill: Abraham Lincoln. 1925.

Literature.

Edinburgh: Sex and Violence on the Bookstalls. 1959-60.

Trevelyan: History and Literature. 1924.

Lying

Blatz: Psychology of Lying. 1950-51.

Macdonald, Sir J. A.

Stauffer: Sir John A. Macdonald, Empire Builder. 1914-15.

MacDonald, J. R.

Williams: The Men Who Saved England. 1931.

McGee, Thomas D'Arcy

Foran: Thomas D'Arcy McGee as an Empire Builder. 1905-06.

McMurray: Thomas D'Arcy McGee. 1925.

Magna Charta

Fallon: Charter of Liberty. 1915-16.

Malta

Dobbie: Defence of Malta. 1944-45.

Manchuria

Eastman: The Sino-Japanese Incident in Relation to the Problem of Disarmament and International Security. 1931.

Massey: The Manchurian Crisis. 1932.

Whyte: The Crisis in the Far East. 1932.

Manitoba

see Canada: Provincial Affairs.

Medicine

Barker: Some of the Triumphs of Modern Medicine. 1909-10.

Best: The Advance of Medical Research. 1953-54.

Fishbien: The Prolongation of Life. 1936-37.

Forsyth: Life and Medical Work on the Labrador. 1937-38.

Vincent: Work of the Rockefeller Foundation: Health as an International Bond. 1920.

Rabinowitch: Medical Evidence in a Court of Law. 1957-58.

Routley: You and Your Doctor. 1955-56.

Mental Health

Clarke: Mental Abnormalities - A Factor in Industry. 1923.

Merchant Marine

Inverclyde: Heroes of the British Merchant Fleet. 1946-47.

Randles: Merchant Navy, the Fourth Arm of the Fighting Services. 1941-42.

Mesopotamia

McClain: Importance of the Mesopotamian Campaign to the British Empire. 1917-18.

Townshend: Imperial Strategy in Mesopotamian Campaign (W.W. I). 1920.

Metric System

Dupuis: British and the Metric Systems. 1906-07.

Military Training

Hughes: Short Review of My Visit to the European Manoeuvres. 1913-14.

Rosengren: Myth of the Militia. 1942-43.

see also Cadet Training.

Milton, John

Robinson: Milton as an Empire Builder. 1908-09.

Mines and Minerals

Adams: Undeveloped Mineral Resources of Canada. 1906-07.

Bateman: Mining – A Permanent Industry. 1926.
 Bell: Mineral Wealth of Canada. 1927.
 Brock: Mineral Resources of Canada. 1908-09.
 Camsell: Canada's Position in Relation to the Empire's Mineral Situation. 1939-40.
 Cole: Importance of Mining Industry to Canada. 1916-17.
 – Mineral Resources of Northern Ontario. 1923.
 Coleman: Mineral Resources of Canada. 1904-05.
 – Ontario Mines and Miners. 1911-12.
 Drew: The Mining Riddle of the Canadian Northwest. 1933-34.
 Dwyer: Mining Industry in Nova Scotia and its Perils. 1936-37.
 Hammond: Making a Mine in Canada. 1934-35.
 McCrea: Development of the Mineral Industry in Ontario. 1924.
 – Ontario's Mining Industry and its Outlook for 1932. 1932.
 – Canadian Minerals in Peace and War. 1937-38.
 Miller: Mineral Industries of Canada. 1909-10.
 Moore: Our Economic Dependence on Mining. 1933-34.
 Parks: Cobalt Mineral Conditions. 1906-07.
 Prain: Mining in an Undeveloped Country in Africa. 1963-64.
 Retty: Iron Ore Deposits of Labrador and New Quebec. 1949-50.
 Thompson: Factors in Developing a Mineral Deposit. 1955-56.

Mohammedanism

Zwemer: British Empire and Islam. 1923.

Money

Claxton: One Hundred Million Dollars For What? 1957-58.
 Fleming: Dollars and Sense. 1957-58.
 James: Money Makes the Mare to Go. 1947-48.
 O'Farrell: Stabilization of Money. 1931.
 Pilkington: Our Common Wealth. 1955-56.
 Sandwell: Being Pushed Into Socialism. 1932.
 Stevens: Money and Trade. 1932.

Montenegro

Sefrovitch: Plight of Montenegro. 1915-16.

Morality

Canterbury: Personal Responsibility and Interdependence. 1963-64.
 Eisendrath: Wide, Wide World. 1958-59.
 – The Price of Brotherhood. 1955-56.
 Mutchmor: The Challenge of Today's Affluent Society. 1962-63.
 Vanier: Problems of National Maturity. 1960-61.
 Wilson: P.S.I. – Project, Samaritan, International. 1956-57.

Moving Pictures

Harmon: Iron Curtain and the Silver Screen. 1948-49.
 Harvey: The Birthplace of Sound. 1930.
 Rank: War Accomplishments of British Films. 1947-48.

Mulock, Sir W.

Complimentary luncheon to Sir William Mulock. 1930.

Municipal Government

- Brittain: Must Municipalities
Muddle Along? 1933-34.
Wickett: Problems of City
Government. 1907-08.

Munitions

- Codd: Munitions and Common
Sense. 1934-35.
Howe: Munitions and More
Munitions. 1940-41.
Nye: Munitions. 1934-35.

Music

- Branscombe: Influence of Music
on the Community. 1928.
Erskine: Ideals of Music in the
New World. 1946-47.
Goldring: Men, Music and
Schools. 1954-55.
MacMillan: Enjoyment of
Music. 1951-52.
Mazzoleni: Music and Peace.
1946-47.
– Music and Musicians.
1949-50.
Neel: Music and the Empire.
1953-54.
Stewart: Good Music Made
Popular. 1934-35.
– What is this Business of
Conducting? 1939-40.
see also Carols, Jazz, Folk
Songs, Songs.

Mussolini, Benito

- Forbes: Dictators and
Democrats. 1939-40.
Fox: Mussolini and the New
Italy. 1932.

National Anthem

- Cody: History and Significance
of the National Anthem.
1916-17.

Nationalism

- Gower-Rees: Nationalism, its
Values and its Evils. 1929.
Grant: Fallacy of Nationalism.
1911-12.
Jolliffe: Chinese Nationalism,
Old and New. 1958-59.

- Pearson: A National Purpose.
1963-64.

- Vanier: Problems of National
Maturity. 1960-61.

see also Canada: National
Unity.

NATO

- Norstad: NATO Strategy.
1958-59.
Smith: Canada and NATO.
1955-56.

Navies

- Keyes: Lessons of Naval
History. 1934-35.
Story: Naval Defence. 1927.
Wrong: What Would the United
States Naval Parity with
Great Britain Mean for
Canada. 1930.
see also Canada, Navy, Great
Britain, Navy.

Negroes

- Mason: Darkest America and
the Way Out. 1911-12.

New Brunswick

- Robichaud: New Brunswick –
1963. 1963-64.
see also Canada: Provincial
Affairs.

New Zealand

- Hislop: Some Impressions from
a Sister Dominion. 1951-52.
Mackenzie: War Nears New
Zealand. 1941-42.
Ross: Empire Parliamentary
Association Visit to Australia
and New Zealand. 1944-45.
Thorn: Historic, Economic and
Social Development in New
Zealand. 1947-48.

Newfoundland

- Clark: French Shore Question
and Newfoundland. 1903-04.
Moline: Newfoundland
Fisheries Question. 1906-07.
Puddester: Newfoundland.
1944-45.

Smallwood: Newfoundland.
1959-60.

Newspapers

Berton: Is the Press Too
Sensational? 1959-60.

Brittain: Press and the Empire.
1919.

Daniell and Long: Addresses by
the Canadian Correspondents
for the New York Times.
1953-54.

Hewart: The Newspaper Press.
1927.

see also Journalism.

Niagara Falls

Nocholls: Niagara's Power –
Past, Present, Prospective.
1904-05.

Nonpartisan Movement

Preus: The Non-partisan
Movement. 1922.

North America

Cordiner: New Challenges of
North America's 'Fastest'
Decade. 1954-55.

Northwest Territories

Goggin: North-West Autonomy.
1904-05.

Norway

Hambro: Norway in War and at
the Peace Conference.
1942-43.

Olav: Rape of Norway.
1940-41.

Riiser-Larsen: Invasion of
Norway. 1940-41.

Nova Scotia

Dwyer: Mining Industry in
Nova Scotia and its Perils.
1936-37.

Stanfield: Nova Scotia in the
Canadian Scene. 1957-58.

Oil

Brockett: The Oil Industry:
Where do We Go from Here?
1959-60.

Longrigg: Oil, Power Politics
and the Arab Awakening.
1958-59.

Tanner: Trans-Canada Pipe
Lines' Place in the Canadian
Economy. 1958-59.

Ontario

Bruce-Lockhart: Why Medicare
in Ontario? 1962-63.

Dymond: Ontario's Number
One Health Problem.
1960-61.

Englehart: Greater Ontario.
1916-17.

Frost: Ontario – 1961. 1961-62.

Gathercole: Ontario's Economic
Prospects. 1955-56.

Grant: Outlook of Central
Canada. 1915-16.

Griesinger: Department of
Planning and Development
Functions and Objectives.
1949-50.

Hearst: Ontario's Place in the
Empire. 1912-13.

Langford: Ontario's Post-War
Planning Needs. 1944-45.

Robarts: Progress and Stability
in Ontario. 1962-63.

see also Agriculture, Mines and
Minerals.

Ontario, Northern

Cody: The Northland of
Canada. 1923.

Finlayson: Northern Ontario.
1927.

Kirkpatrick: Our Northern
Heritage. 1905-06.

Renison: Our Debt to Northern
Ontario. 1943-44.

see also Arctic Regions, Mines
and Minerals.

Palestine

Aitken: Birth of a Nation
(Israel). 1948-49.

Cody: Palestine Today and
Tomorrow. 1929.

Kisch: Palestine Today. 1929.

Miller: Palestine in Retrospect and Prospect. 1938-39.
 Phillips: Palestine and the Middle East. 1944-45.
 Stewart: Palestine as a U.N. Responsibility. 1947-48.

Pakistan

Baig: Pakistan Today. 1953-54.

Paper

Vining: The Newsprint Riddle. 1934-35.

Parliament

Fulton: The Purpose of Parliament. 1956-57.
 Knowles: The Role of the Opposition in Parliament. 1956-57.
 McGeachy: Our Parliament, its Organization and Work. 1954-55.
 Newman: What is Wrong with Parliament? 1963-64.
 Roblin: The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. 1959-60.

Passchendaele

Massie: The Artillery at Passchendaele. 1917-18.

Patriotism

Boulton: Patriotism and Poetry. 1928.
 Bowles: Culturing Canadian Patriotism. 1924.
 Osborne: Canadian Patriotism 1904-05.

Peace

Alcock: Can the Scientist Win the Peace? 1961-62.
 Churchill: The Basis of Peace. 1931.
 Dafoe: Roads to the Future. 1935-36.
 Harper: Gospel of Peace. 1914-15.
 Logan: Peace Among the Nations. 1930.

Martin: Difficulties of the U.N. in Maintaining the Peace. 1963-64.

Reuther: Peace, Freedom, Social Justice – Indivisible Values. 1956-57.

Pepys, Samuel

Cosgrave: Samuel Pepys and His Time. 1927.

Petroleum

Campbell: Turner Valley – Its Resources and Possibilities. 1937-38.
 Holman: Freedom and Energy Go Together. 1950-51.
 Hopkins: Western Oil Flows Eastward. 1949-50.
 Horne: Pipe Lines – Canada and Elsewhere. 1951-52.
 MacNicol: Alaska Highway and Post-War Reconstruction. 1942-43.
 Stewart: Frontiers of the Future. 1952-53.

Philippines

Taft: Empire. 1913-14.

Poland

Drury: U.N.R.R.A. in Poland. 1946-47.
 Podoski: Toward Victory. 1941-42.
 Werner: Towards Unity. 1942-43.

Politics

Alexander: Some Aspects of the Free World's Concern with the Satellite Nations of East Europe. 1959-60.
 Ames: Machine in Honest Hands. 1906-07.
 Barkway: After the Crisis – the Clean-up. 1962-63.
 Brockelbank: Eighteen Years of C.C.F. Accomplishment in Saskatchewan. 1962-63.
 Davies: The Continuing World Conflict. 1962-63.

Gordon: Realism or Fatalism. 1961-62.

Harkness: World Political Changes and Their Effect on Defence. 1963-64.

Hayman: The Next Decade. 1959-60.

Hume: Peace Through Investment – A Challenge to the the Capitalist Countries. 1960-61.

Jodoin: The Challenge of 1963. 1962-63.

Lacoste: Peoples and Nations in a Changing World. 1961-62.

Longrigg: Oil, Power Politics and the Arab Awakening. 1958-59.

Merchant: The World Around Us. 1961-62.

Randall: Challenge from the Americas. 1961-62.

Thomson: The Winds of Change in the New Nations. 1962-63.

Vanier: Problems of National Maturity. 1960-61.

Woodside: Why So Much Gloom? 1961-62.

Population

Lamb: Population Problems. 1937-38.

Macmillan: Problems of Population. 1911-12.
see also Immigration.

Postage

Cooper: Imperial Postage. 1906-07.

Public Service

Heeney: Traditions and Trends in Canada's Public Service. 1957-58.

Hughes: Some Aspects of the Public Service. 1959-60.

Prices

Wilson: Battle Against Rising Prices. 1941-42.

Prince Edward Island

Burke: Position of Prince Edward Island. 1908-09.

Jones: Parva sub ingenti (Small Under the Great). 1952-53.

Matheson: The Island Province – Its Present and Future. 1912-13.

Privy Council

Clarke: Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 1908-09.

Riddell: Appeals to the Privy Council. 1927.

Progress

Brickner: Social Progress through Social Service. 1920.

Costain: Glance at the Future. 1950-51.

Robarts: Progress and Stability in Ontario. 1962-63.

Proportional Representation

Humphreys: Proportional Representation. 1915-16.

Public Opinion

Davies: The Empire Club and Public Opinion. 1926.

Public Relations

Coleman: Reporting to the Public. 1948-49.

Oliver: Human Relations and You. 1947-48.

Public Speaking

Greaves: Public Speaking. 1924.

Newlands: Public Speaking – Good, Bad and Indifferent. 1922.

Public Utilities

Hibbard: Control of Public Utilities. 1910-11.

Smith: Britain's Experience of Public Ownership. 1905-06.

White: Public Ownership of Public Utilities. 1905-06.

Quebec

Brodeur: Loyalty of French Canadians to the Empire. 1903-04.

Calder: Is Quebec a British Province? 1933-34.
 David: Quebec of Yesterday and Quebec of Tomorrow. 1920.
 Dumoulin: Quebec, Old and New. 1943-44.
 Favreau: Unrest in French Canada. 1963-64.
 Godbout: Quebec and Pan-Canadian Unity. 1940-41.
 Kierans: Quebec - Problems of Growth. 1963-64.
 Lesage: Quebec's Place in World Economy. 1960-61.
 Mathewson: Quebec. 1939-40.
 St. Laurent: The Quebec Code as a Canadian Asset. 1920.
 Taschereau: One of Canada's Assets, the Habitant. 1922.
 Weir: Present and Future of Quebec. 1905-06.

Racial Problems

Lund: Race Relations in Practice. 1957-58.
 Robinson: International Aspects of American Race Relations. 1961-62.

Radio Broadcasting

Barkway: International Radio in War and Peace. 1945-46.
 De Lotbiniere: That Dragon Goebbels. 1943-44.
 Murray: Should Broadcasting Be Controlled? 1933-34.
 Whitteker: London Tells the World. 1944-45.
 Stewart: A High Standard. 1958-59.

Railways

Ewan: Railways and Grade Crossings. 1907-08.
 McLean: S. J.: Some Considerations of Railway Regulation. 1908-09.
 Maclean, W. F.: State Ownership of Railways. 1904-05.

Pettypiece: Question of Railway Taxation. 1903-04.

Railways (Canada)

Beatty: Ontario and its Railways. 1919.
 - Some Canadian Problems. 1924.
 Gordon: Talking Shop. 1950-51.
 - Railway Highlights. 1954-55.
 Thornton: The National Railways. 1922.
 - Problems of the Canadian National Railways. 1929.
 Vaughan: Railway at War. 1942-43.
 Webb: Hudson Bay Railway and Immigration. 1926.

Russia.

Alexander of Russia: Out of My Life. 1929.
 Allan: Commercial Russia. 1916-17.
 Argue: Can Canada Survive the Soviet Challenge? 1959-60.
 Aroutunian: Some Reflections on Khrushchev's Visit to U.S.A., and a Further Development of Soviet-Canadian Relations. 1959-60.
 Boss: Report from Russia. 1953-54.
 Brickner: The Five-Year Plan - Russia's Challenge to Capitalism. 1931.
 Diefenbaker: Is the Declaration of Washington an Answer to the Russian World Economic Challenge? 1955-56.
 Duncan: The Formidable Reality of Khrushchev's Russia. 1960-61.
 Gayn: The Second Revolution in Russia. 1962-63.
 Igantieff: Russia: 1931.
 Ketchum: Russia. 1933-34.
 Marshall: The Russian Situation. 1924.

- Mavor: Constitutional Problem in Russia. 1908-09.
 – Russia. 1916-17.
 McEachern: Back from Russia. 1956-57.
 Monkhouse: Present Position of the U.S.S.R. 1934-35.
 Percy: Situation in Russia. 1921.
 Reade: Russian Campaign in Review. 1941-42.
 Slaght: Threat to World Freedom. 1948-49.
 Utgoff: Russia: Britain's Ally (W.W. I). 1915-16.
 Wigglesworth: The Soviets' Objectives – Facts and Fancies. 1958-59.
 Woodside: Russian Riddle. 1945-46.
 – Stalin's Biggest Headache. 1949-50.
 – After Stalin – What? 1952-53.
see also Communism.

Reciprocity

- Allan and Somers: Reciprocity with the United States. 1910-11.
 Birge: Relations of Canada, the Motherland, and the United States. 1903-04.
 Foss and others: Relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain. 1904-05.
 Foster: Preferential Trade Within the Empire. 1903-04.
 George: Canadian Industries, Preference and Reciprocity. 1904-05.
 McGoun: What Canada Can Give for a British Preference. 1905-06.
 Morgan: Progress of Imperial Preference. 1921.
 Mosely: Canada and British Tariff Reform. 1905-06.

- Pratt: British Politics and Reciprocity. 1910-11.
 Vincent: Preferential Trade Within the Empire. 1904-05.
see also Tariff.

Red Cross

- Belmont: Red Cross Work Overseas (W.W. I). 1917-18.

Religion

- Canterbury: Personal Responsibility and Interdependence. 1963-64.
 Davies: The Continuing World Conflict. 1962-63.
 Eisendrath: Wide, Wide World. 1958-59.
 – The Price of Brotherhood. 1955-56.
 Graham: Is There an Answer? 1956-57.
 Howse: The Christian Minority in the World of Tomorrow. 1961-62.
 MacDonald: Businessman and the Churches. 1907-08.
 Mutchmor: The Challenge of Today's Affluent Society. 1962-63.
 Neill: Threatened Christendom. 1961-62.
 Pike: Opening meeting, season 1954-55. 1954-55.
 Wilkinson: The Church Amid World Cultures. 1962-63.
 – Lambeth and Church Unity. 1958-59.
see also Christianity, Great Britain, Religion.

Saskatchewan

- Brockelbank: Eighteen Years of C.C.F. Accomplishment in Saskatchewan. 1962-63.
 Douglas: Saskatchewan's Post-War Plans. 1944-45.

Research

- Macallum: New Organization for Industrial and Scientific Research. 1916-17.

McLennan: Science and Industrial Research in Canada. 1916-17.

Moore: Royal Society Empire Scientific Conference. 1946-47.

Solandt: Atom and Empire. 1952-53.

Watson-Watt: Scientist and Citizen. 1947-48.

see also Canadian Research Council.

Roads (Ontario)

Campbell: Good Roads and the Public Welfare. 1910-11.

Rockefeller Foundation

Vincent: Work of the Rockefeller Foundation: Health as an International Bond. 1920.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police

MacBrien: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police. 1937.

Steele: Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Arctic. 1928.

Russo-Japanese War

Mavor: Russo-Japanese War. 1903-04.

St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project

Chevrier: St. Lawrence Seaway. 1954-55.

Goforth: The St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Project: A Canadian View of Its Economic Aspects. 1928.

Hogg: Hydro and the St. Lawrence. 1939-40.

Lynch-Staunton: The Ontario View of the St. Lawrence Waterway Scheme. 1928.

McNaughton: Boundary Waters between Canada and the United States. 1951-52.

Saunders: Case for the St. Lawrence Power Project. 1951-52.

Stephens: Canada and the St. Lawrence Waterway. 1910-11.

Woodward: Peace and Prosperity. 1950-51.

Salvation Army

Orsborn: Salvationist's World Outlook. 1947-48.

Science

Alcock: Can the Scientist Win the Peace? 1961-62.

Ash: The Duke of Edinburgh's Second Commonwealth Study Conference. 1961-62.

Cockcroft: The Miracle of Atomic Energy. 1959-60.

Goodeve: Science Comes Outside the Laboratory. 1956-57.

Heard: Sputnicks. 1957-58.

Keys: The Peacetime Applications of Atomic Energy. 1954-55.

Smith: Putting the Atom to Work. 1959-60.

Thomas: The Contribution of Creative Chemistry to the Humanities. 1956-57.

Watson-Watt: The Dangers of the Nuclear Age. 1958-59.

Wilson: How International is Science? 1960-61.

Scotland

Geggie: Scotland's Contribution to the Empire. 1909-10.

Graham: Scottish Link in the Empire (Scottish Development Council). 1939-40.

Montrose: Scottish Trade Mission. 1932.

Thomson: Scottish Home Rule. 1954-55.

Wemyss and March: The Scottish Scene. 1954-55.

Separatism

Thomson: Separatism - A Dangerous Philosophy. 1963-64.

Scott, Sir Walter

Macmillan: Sir Walter Scott as an Empire Builder. 1909-10.

Sex

Edinburgh: Sex and Violence on the Bookstalls. 1959-60.

Shakespeare, William

Flower: Shakespeare's Birthplace. 1927.

Mackay: Shakespeare and the Bible. 1950-51.

Wolfit: Shakespeare in War and Peace. 1946-47.

Shaw, G. B.

Colbourne: Bernard Shaw and the Empire. 1930.

— The Apple Cart and the British Empire. 1931.

Social Credit

Sanderson: Social Credit. 1935-36.

Socialism

Armour: Whither? (Address at Annual Meeting). 1947-48.

Cahan: A Pernicious Propaganda. 1919.

Kylie: Menace of Socialism. 1908-09.

Leacock: Proper Limitations of State Interference. 1924.

Moore: Social Order. 1942-43.

Songs

Boulton: Patriotism and Poetry. 1928.

see also Folk Songs.

South Africa

Aitken: By Jet to Jo'burg. 1952-53.

Berkinshaw: Canadian Trade Mission Trip to South Africa. 1947-48.

Fitzpatrick: Conditions in South Africa. 1909-10.

Gilmour: A Canadian Looks at South Africa. 1955-56.

Meyer: Racial Relations in the Union of South Africa. 1939-40.

Schalwyk: South Africa After 50 Years of Union. 1960-61.

Tatlow: South Africa. 1924.

Viljoen: Conditions in South Africa. 1945-46.

South America

Cockshutt: South American Impressions. 1927.

Keppel-Jones: The Problems and Future of South America. 1953-54.

Mott: Significance of South America to Canada. 1940-41.

Walker: Trip Through South America. 1922.

Theatre

Bing: This Business of Opera. 1956-57.

Christmas: Some Experiences in Showmanship. 1949-50.

Colbourne: Future of the Legitimate Theatre. 1932.

Hamilton: Our Responsibility to the English-speaking Theatre. 1928.

Hardwicke: The Theatre as a Desirable Cultural Force. 1936-37.

— The Theatre as We Know It. 1938-39.

Harvey: Empire and Drama. 1913-14.

Huston: Experiences on the Stage. 1934-35.

Irving: Drama as a Factor in Social Progress. 1913-14.

Johnston: The Motion Picture Looks Ahead. 1960-61.

Massey: Future of the Theatre. 1933-34.

Patterson: Canada's Big League Theatre. 1956-57.

Thorndike: The Theatre. 1934-35.

Valk: The Theatre in Europe and the Americas. 1955-56.

Sovereignty

Kingsley: Woodrow Wilson and the Doctrine of Sovereignty. 1917-18.

Spain

Baker: The Spanish Nations and their Increasing Interest to Us. 1916-17.

Griffin: The Tragedy of Spain. 1936-37.

MacNamara: Spain—Its Internal Issues and Repercussions as Affecting the British Empire. 1938-39.

Woodside: Inside Spain Today. 1946-47.

Sport

Clark: Sportsmen, Indeed? 1949-50.

Desborough: Empire Sport. 1920.

Don: Complimentary luncheon to Kaye Don (brief remarks). 1931.

— Race for the Harmsworth Trophy. 1932.

Sclater: Imperial Significance of Games. 1929.

see also Athletics, Boxing, Cricket, Tennis.

Stalin, Joseph

Forbes: Dictators and Democrats. 1939-40.

Woodside: After Stalin — What? 1952-53.

Stratosphere

Stevens: Stratosphere Exploration. 1935-36.

Submarines

Jewell: Inside a Submarine. 1943.

— Secret Mission (Submarine operations). 1944-45.

Sweden

Wijkman: Sweden's Relationship with the British Empire and with Canada in Particular. 1944-45.

Tariff

Barker: Imperial Defence and Tariff Reform. 1910-11.

Coleman: Let's Free Trade. 1952-53.

George: Canadian Industries, Preference and Reciprocity. 1904-05.

Lawrence: Tariff Reform Policy for England. 1910-11.

Lloyd and Mitchell: Tariff Relations Within the British Empire. (Debate.) 1930.

Mosely: Canada and British Tariff Reform. 1905-06.

Smith and others: Mr. Chamberlain's Policy and Its Prospects. 1906-07.

see also Reciprocity.

Telephone

Eadie: Telephony — A New Era in the Making. 1953-54.

Perrine: Voices Across the Sea. 1935-36.

— Quarter Century of Communications Development. 1939-40.

Vincent: Bell is Big Business. 1963-64.

Television

Aldred: The Future of Canadian Television. 1960-61.

Collins: Social Implication of Television. 1952-53.

Dunton: Canada and Television. 1952-53.

McLellan: Television — Progress and Promise. 1949-50.

Tennessee Valley Authority

Fox: The Tennessee Valley Authority. 1938-39.

Tennis

Perry: Tennis in the Empire. 1936-37.

Tito, Marshal

Woodside: Stalin's Biggest Headache. 1949-50.

Toronto

- Allen: A Glimpse into Metro Future. 1961-62.
 Arthur: Town Planning. 1943-44.
 Bruce: Out of the Woods (Toronto history). 1933-34.
 Charlesworth: The Changing Scene. 1932.
 Davies: Post-War Toronto (Toronto Reconstruction Council). 1944-45.
 Gardiner: Metropolitan Toronto. 1953-54.
 – Metro – Past, Present, and Future. 1962-63.
 Gourlay: Some Aspects of Commercial Value to the City of Toronto of the Proposed Harbour Improvements. 1912-13.
 Grier: Toronto and Her Place in the British Empire. 1911-12.
 Griffith: Building a Seaport. 1962-63.
 Hardy: Metropolitan Problem. 1949-50.
 Harris: The City Planning Project. 1929.
 Houston: Evolution of a Greater Toronto. 1909-10.
 Jones: Natural Gas Comes to Toronto. 1954-55.
 Kelso: Play Spirit and Playgrounds in Toronto. 1907-08.
 Lamport and Parkin: Planning for Transportation in the Metropolitan Community. 1958-59.
 Lighthall: Toronto and Town Planning. 1910-11.
 Maclean: A Greater Toronto. 1907-08.
 Reed: Old Toronto. 1925.
 Saunders: Amalgamation vs. Cumming Plan. 1952-53.
 Sheard: City of Toronto Disposal of Sewage and

- Water Filtration. 1907-08.
 Tate: Rapid Transit for Toronto. 1949-50.
 Taylor: Toronto Should Have the Best. 1958-59.

Toronto Industrial Commission

- Burton: Function of the Toronto Industrial and Publicity Commission. 1929.

Town Planning

- Arthur: Town Planning. 1943-44.
 Gordon: Role of Transit in Community Planning. 1943-44.
 Harris: The (Toronto) City Planning Project. 1929.
 Lighthall: Toronto and Town Planning. 1910-11.

Trade

- Davis: Aluminum Ltd. and International Trade. 1955-56.
 Ferranti: North Atlantic Trade and Industry. 1959-60.
 Little: Expanding Trade – The Positive Approach to Economic Growth. 1962-63.
 Mooney: International Trade. 1933-34.
 Pearson: Atlantic Trade Community, Foundation of the Free World. 1960-61.
 Thornbrough: Free Trade in a Free World. 1959-60.
 Wickman: Simple Laws of International Trade. 1944-45.
 Whitehead: The Human Factor. 1955-56.

Trade Mission

- Duncan: The Dynamics of a Trade Mission. 1957-58.

Trade Unions

- Emery: The Open Shop: Why It Is, Why Should It Prevail? 1921.

Gompers: The Open Shop: What Is It- Why Should It Prevail? 1921.

Jodoin: The Canadian Labour Congress and Free Trade Unions throughout the World. 1956-57.

Transportation

Casgrain: Problems of Transportation in Canada. 1910-11.

Dafoe: Canada's New Northwest Development. 1929.

Gibb: Transportation. 1931.

Gordon: Role of Transit in Community Planning. 1943-44.

Lamport and Parkin: Planning for Transportation in the Metropolitan Community. 1958-59.

see also Aviation, Canals, Railways.

Travel and Exploration

Bassett: Report of Another Journey. 1957-58.

Bowditch: Around the U.S. in Twenty Minutes. 1955-56.

Cromie: World in Perspective. 1930.

Hoffman: Jottings from an Explorer's Notebook. 1935-36.

Norwood: A Briton Looks at the World. 1934-35.

Sykes: Explorers and the British Empire. 1934-35.

Williams: Around the World in Thirty-Four Days. 1957-58.

see also Antarctic Regions, Arctic Regions.

Turkey

Gould: Present Crisis in Turkey. 1908-09.

Hodder: Williams: The Return of the Turk. 1923.

Maharrij: Turkey. 1912-13.

see also Constantinople.

Turner Valley

Campbell: Turner Valley - Its Resources and Possibilities. 1937-38.

Ulster

Cooper: Strategic Position of Ulster. 1944-45.

Underdeveloped Nations

Lacoste: Peoples and Nations in a Changing World. 1961-62.

Thomson: The Winds of Change in the New Nations. 1962-63.

Williams: The Free World's Stake in the Underdeveloped Countries. 1958-59.

Wilson: P.S.I. - Project, Samaritan, International. 1956-57.

Unemployment

Butler: Unemployment. 1930.

Groves: Unemployment Compensation in Wisconsin. 1932.

Hellyer: Inflation vs. Unemployment. 1957-58.

Moore: Some Aspects of the Unemployment Problem and the Present Russian Trade Proposals. 1931.

Robertson: Dominion Unemployment Relief. 1931.

Whitton: Canada's Problems in Relief and Assistance. 1935-36.

United Empire Loyalists

Robinson: A Legacy from the United Empire Loyalists. 1911-12.

United Nations

Drury: U.N.R.R.A. in Poland. 1946-47.

Hammar skjold: An Address. 1953-54.

Heeney: United Nations Today and Tomorrow. 1951-52.

Jebb: United Nations as a Force for Peace and Prosperity. 1951-52.

Martin: Difficulties of the U.N. in Maintaining Peace. 1963-64.

– The New Face of the United Nations. 1960-61.

Philip: Let's Return to Diplomacy. 1951-52.

Romulo: United Nations Today. 1952-53.

Stewart: Palestine as a U.N. Responsibility. 1947-48.

Tweedsmuir, Lady: The Commonwealth at the U.N. 1960-61.

United States

Bowditch: Around the U.S. in Twenty Minutes. 1955-56.

Cameron: United States – Its General Atmosphere and Conditions. 1939-40.

Ford: Some Impressions. 1951-52.

Gibbons: The United States Faces the Future. 1933-34.

Medina: A Look at America. 1957-58.

Rosengren: Men, Money and Material. 1941-42.

Vanderlip: Conditions in the United States. 1919.

Valk: The Theatre in Europe and the Americas. 1955-56.

United States Economic Conditions

Crock: United States Economic Conditions. 1933-34.

Godfrey: The Creation of Wealth. 1927.

Goldenberg: Economic Recovery in Great Britain and the United States. 1934-35.

Stuart: Economic Problems of Common Interest to Canada and the United States. 1953-54.

United States Economic Policy

Hoffman: 1948, a Year for Successful Worrying. 1947-48.

Romney: Significant Developments in Our American Economy. 1957-58.

Stahl: Outlook for the United States Economy and Securities Markets for 1964. 1964.

United States Foreign Relations

Buchan: Washington Through British Eyes. 1951-52.

Diefenbaker: Is the Declaration of Washington an Answer to the Russian World Economic Challenge? 1955-56.

Freedman: American Foreign Policy. 1950-51.

Moore: So Its Dulles Ditch-water. 1956-57.

Page: American Foreign Policy. 1923.

Putnam: Relation of the United States to the Issues of the (first World) War. 1915-16.

Rogers: United States Policy for the Pacific. 1943-44.

Scroggs: Foreign Policy of the N.R.A. 1934-35.

Sulzberger: Power and Responsibility. 1951-52.

United States Politics and Government

Buchan: Washington Through British Eyes. 1951-52.

Catledge: Democracy Reawakening. 1937-38.

Morse: Democracy and the Legislative Process. 1950-51.
see also Non-partisan Movement.

United States and Canada

Colbert: A Centre of Confidence. 1956-57.

Farley: Our Common Mission. 1954-55.

Litchfield: The Dangers and Opportunities We Share. 1953-54.

Parker. Let's Be Friends. 1953-54.

Rawlings: Status of a U.S.-owned Subsidiary Operating in Canada. 1963-64.

Whitney: Canadian and American Relations. 1963-64.

United States and Great Britain
see Great Britain and the United States.

Universities

Bissell: The University and the City. 1957-58.

Currie: Influence of Canadian Universities in Canadian Development. 1920.

Falconer: Work of the Universities of the Empire. 1912-13.

Gordon: University and Its People. 1903-04.

Hutchins: The University and the Republic. 1959-60.

McCulley: The University – Yesterday, Today and ? 1956-57.

Newton: Universities and Commerce. 1919.

Shipley: Co-operation between Great Britain and Canada (University education and business). 1917-18.

Windle: Recent Developments in University Education in Great Britain. 1920.

University of Toronto

Gody: Toronto University and the Public. 1932.

Smith: Your University and Canada's Finest Generation. 1946-47.

Vimy Pilgrimage

Scott: The Significance of Vimy. 1936-37.

Wages

MacMillan: Ontario Minimum Wage Bill. 1921.

War

Duncan: Education and the Cold War. 1956-57.

Fraser: Gains and Losses in the Cold War. 1960-61.

Lattimore: Would a Russo-Japanese War be another World War? 1933-34.

Riddell: Philosophy of War. 1914-15.

Simonds: Role of the Land Forces in Modern Warfare. 1922.

Sims: Influence of Modern Weapons upon Future Warfare. 1922.

Strachey: What Is the Cause of War? 1934-35.

see also Peace.

War of 1812-14

Riddell: Experiences of an American Soldier in the War of 1812-14. 1913-14.

West Indies

Adams: Challenge of the West Indies. 1958-59.

Morris: West Indian Recollections and Conditions. 1907-08.

Wheat

Fay: The Wheat Trade. 1930.

Magill: International Trading in Grain. 1928.

Mathieson: State and Foreign Trade. 1946-47.

Oliver: Canada and Her Wheat. 1929.

Willingdon, Viscount

Address on Empire and Commonwealth. (Special luncheon meeting in his honour.) 1930.

Winchester

Adams: Winchester and Its Historical Associations. 1933-34.

Wolfe, General

Wade: Canada at the Grave of General Wolfe. 1910-11.

Wagh: Canada and the Spirit of General Wolfe. 1926.

Women

Fairclough: Canadian Women as Citizens. 1957-58.

Van Koughnet: Some of the War Work of Canadian Women (W.W. I). 1916-17.

Wilson: Women - 1830 and 1930. 1930.

Women (Suffrage)

Macphail: Psychology of the Suffragette. 1909-10.

World War I

Anderson. The English-speaking World and the Continent of Europe: Why France and Germany Need Help from the English-speaking World. 1923.

Baldensperger: Watching the Enemy. 1917-18.

Blondin: The Federal Government and the Situation. 1915-16.

Borden: Canada and the Great War. 1914-15.

Brown: Canada's Achievements and Opportunities in Europe. 1919.

Cameron: The Canadian Outlook. 1916-17.

Currie: Last Hundred Days of the War. 1919.

Denison: German Peace Offer. 1916-17.

- Present Outlook and a Parallel. 1917-18.

Dent: Britain at War. 1914-15.

Doherty: Some Things the War Means. 1914-15.

Donald: After War, Peace Complications from the Viewpoint of Europe. 1920.

Fallis: Vimy - Twenty Years After. 1936-37.

Finlay: The United States and the War. 1917-18.

Forneret: With Canada at the Front. 1915-16.

Foster: The War and Commerce. 1914-15.

- European Situation. 1923.

Gardiner: Britain at War. 1917-18.

Gordon: Facing the Facts of the Present Situation. 1916-17.

Gould: Win the War - The Next Step. 1916-17.

Guthrie: United Canada's Answer to the Call. 1916-17.

Hearst: The Great War. 1916-17.

Herridge: The War and the Church. 1914-15.

Horne: Some After-War Problems - Unemployment, Immigration, Reparations. 1923.

Hughes: Some Observations on the War. 1916-17.

Judson: Spirit of the States in The Great War. 1917-18.

Lloyd George: The Lloyd George Meetings. The Empire and World War I. 1923.

Lyon: My Experiences at the Front. 1917-18.

McCrimmon: Some War Revelations. 1914-15.

Mac Kendrick: British Front in the Great Offensive. 1917-18.

MacKay: The Battle Lines of the 1914-18 War Revisited. 1961-62.

Macphail: The Goat and the Vine. 1934-35.

Mavor: Experiences of an Infantryman at the Front. 1917-18.

Meighen: The War. 1914-15.

O'Ryan: Some Reflections on the War. 1924.

Paulin: War Impressions. 1917-18.

Peat: Experiences at the Front. 1917-18.

Ponton: Prose and Poetry – Reality and Spirit of Canadian Imperial Service. 1914-15.

Rathom: Three Years of Germany's War on the United States (German espionage). 1916-17.

Rowell: Britain's Effort. 1916-17.

Seeley: Record of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade. 1920.

Smith: Victorious Peace. 1917-18.

Tory: Certain Phases of the War Problem. 1914-15.

Wakefield: Turning of the Tide of War. 1917-18.

Willison: War Mobilization of Great Britain. 1916-17.

see also Aviation, Belgium, Canada, Finance, Dardanelles, Denmark, Food Supply, France, Mesopotamia, Passchendaele, Russia, United States, Foreign Relations, Vimy Pilgrimage, Women, Zeebrugge.

World War II

Alexander. Address. 1946-47.

Baldwin: Some Strategic Aspects of the War in 1940. 1939-40.

Baxter: What I Have Seen Over There and Over Here. 1941-42.

Bennett: Retrospect and Prophecy. 1939-40.

Birchall: Japanese Ceylon Attack and Afterwards. 1945-46.

Birkett: Secret of the Spirit of Britain. 1941-42.

– Britain and Canada – Brothers in Arms. 1942-43.

Bowhill: Coastal Command and Its Work with the Royal Navy. 1941-42.

Burgin: Plans Unfold. 1943-44.

Carney: Unfinished Task. 1944-45.

Clark: Blitzkrieg in Flanders. 1940-41.

– With the Prime Minister in Great Britain. 1941-42.

Cody: Guarding Our Heritage. 1939-40.

Cole: London Under the Robot Bomb. 1944-45.

Crerar: Some Reminiscences of 1935-45. 1949-50.

Cromwell: Issues At Stake. 1939-40.

d'Egville: War and Its Implications for Canada and the Empire. 1940-41.

Dimsdale: There Are No Civilians in London. 1940-41.

Donovan: Off the Record. 1940-41.

Drew: The Ides of March (Hitler's Advance into Czechoslovakia.) 1938-39.

– Road to Victory. 1939-40.

– Britain in the Third Year. 1941-42.

– Britain Sees It Through. 1943-44.

– Target for Tomorrow. 1944-45.

Evans: The Navy. 1941-42.

Fallis: Part We Play. 1939-40.

Fauquier: R.C.A.F. Bomber Group in Action. 1945-46.

Fotitch: Small Nations in World Affairs and Their Role in the Future Organization of the Peace. 1943-44.

Foulkes: Last Canadian Battle and the Surrender of the German Army. 1945-46.

Garbett: War Aims as Seen from Great Britain. 1943-44.

Goggin: Yesterday and Today in America. 1940-41.

Green: Labour, Industry and the War. 1942-43.

- Haldenby: Battalion Commander's Experience in the First Year of the War. 1940-41.
- Halton: With the Canadians in Normandy. 1944-45.
- Hincks: Experience on an Atlantic Convoy. 1941-42.
- Howe: Canada at War. 1940-41.
- Munitions and More Munitions. 1940-41.
- Johnson: Embattled Britain. 1940-41.
- King-Hall: Britain and the Future. 1943-44.
- Llewellyn: St. George and Canada. 1942-43.
- MacDonald, M.: Defence of Liberty - There and Here. 1941-42.
- Present Situation. 1944-45.
- MacDonald, Miss S.: Why Paint in War-Time? 1942-43.
- Macdonnell: Some War-Time Business and Financial Problems. 1939-40.
- McInnis: Difficulties of the Axis. 1940-41.
- MacKenzie: War Nears New Zealand. 1941-42.
- Marix: Some Aspects of the R.A.F. Transport Command. 1943-44.
- Markowitz: Some Experiences as a Medical Officer with the Royal Army Medical Corps. 1946-47.
- Masaryk: Real New Order. 1941-42.
- Newman: How goes the War? 1942-43.
- Palmer: Experiences in a Japanese Internment Camp. 1942-43.
- Parker: Canada's War in the Air. 1942-43.
- Paton: Prospects of International Order. 1941-42.
- Philip: Close to the War. 1940-41.
- Hitler Holds All Europe. 1941-42.
- End of the Beginning. 1942-43.
- Fifth Year and the Future. 1943-44.
- Going On to the End. 1944-45.
- Philippis: Empire at War in the Moslem Mediterranean. 1940-41.
- Podoski: Towards Victory. 1941-42.
- Reade: Twentieth Century Crusade at Home and Abroad. 1940-41.
- Russian Campaign in Review. 1941-42.
- Approaching Climax. 1944-45.
- Renison: To Britain and Return. 1941-42.
- Rhodes: Aid to Russia through the Persian Gulf. 1945-46.
- Roberts: Civilian Front Line. 1941-42.
- Rogers: Present Challenge to Canada. 1940-41.
- Rosengren: Men, Money and Material. 1941-42.
- Myth of the Militia. 1942-43.
- Salmon: Making of the Peace. 1946-47.
- Sanderson: Moving Finger Writes, but What Does It Write? 1941-42.
- Snider: War with the Blinds Down. 1939-40.
- Blinds Up in Britain. 1941-42.
- Stansgate: Empire Carries On. 1943-44.
- Stewart: What is Now at Stake in Europe. 1940-41.
- Essentials of the Coming Peace. 1942-43.
- Strange: Into the Blitz. 1941-42.

– What Is the Navy Doing?
1942-43.
Villeneuve: Salute to Britain.
1940-41.
Warburton: Dunkirk to Dieppe
and Beyond. 1942-43.
Wemp: On Active Service with
the Fighting Forces. 1942-43.
Wilmot: Struggle for Europe.
1951-52.
Witt: With the R.A.F. Over
Europe. 1941-42.
Wood: Inception and Produc-
tion of Detour. 1946-47.
Woodside: Britain Faces
Germany. 1938-39.
– Finishing the Job. 1942-43.
Wrench: Old Country Carries
On. 1940-41.
see also Aviation, Burma,

China, East, Far East,
Finance, France, Holland,
India, Japan, Malta, Norway,
Palestine, Submarines, Ulster.

Yukon

Black: The New Yukon. 1922.
Bristol: Yukon Territory.
1905-06.
Craig: Present Condition and
Future Prospects of the
Yukon. 1911-12.

Zanzibar Protectorate

Yalden-Thomson: What Is to
Become of the British
Protectorates? 1943-44.

Zeebrugge

Carpenter: Fight at Zeebrugge
(W.W. I). 1919.

Index of Portraits

1953-1963

- Adams, F. D., 1906-07.
Adams, Sir G., 1958-59.
Alexander, Lt. Col. A. S.,
1959-60.
Allan, J. D., 1910-11.
Amery, L. S., 1910-11.
Ames, H. B., 1906-07.
Amory, Rt. Hon. Viscount,
1961-62.
Archibald, W. P., 1905-06;
1906-07; 1907-08.
Arden-Clarke, Sir C., 1958-59.
- Balfour, G. B., 1936-37.
Barrette, Hon. A., 1959-60.
Baxter, W. J., 1933-34.
Beaudoin, Hon. L. R., 1956-57.
Birge, C. A., 1903-04.
Birkenhead, Earl of, 1906-07.
Bissell, C. T., 1957-58.
Borden, Sir R. L., 1905-06;
1914-15.
Brace, J. H., 1935-36.
Bristol, E., 1905-06.
Brock, R. W., 1908-09.
Brodeur, L. P., 1903-04;
1907-08.
Brooks, W., 1924.
Bryce, P. H., 1906-07.
Burke, A. E., 1908-09; 1909-10.
Burns, Gen. E. L. M., 1961-62.
Burns, R. N., 1925.
Burton, C. L., 1952-53.
Burwash, N., 1903-04.
- Campbell, A. W., 1910-11.
Campbell, C. S., 1962-63.
Campbell, W. W., 1904-05.
Campney, Hon. R. O., 1955-56.
Carpenter, A. F. E., 1919.
Casgrain, J. P. B., 1910-11.
- Chamberlain, J., 1903-04.
Clark, H., 1905-06.
Clark, J. M., 1903-04; 1904-05;
1908-09.
Clark, W., 1903-04; 1904-05.
Clouse, E., 1909-10; 1949-50.
Clouse, F. L., 1946-47.
Cockshutt, W. F., 1904-05;
1909-10.
Cody, H. J., 1908-09.
Colbert, L. L., 1956-57.
Colebrook, H. G., 1949-50.
Coleman, A. P., 1906-07.
Conquergood, C. R., 1944-45.
Coombs, F. J., 1917-18.
Costain, T. B., 1950-51.
Craig, J., 1913-14.
Cranston, Sir R., 1906-07.
Cumberland, F. B., 1903-04;
1906-07.
Currie, Sir A., 1919.
- De Ferranti, B. Z., 1959-60.
d'Egville, H., 1908-09.
Denison, G. T., 1904-05.
Denton, J. H., 1909-10.
De Thier, H. E. J., 1960-61.
Diefenbaker, Rt. Hon. J. G.,
1955-56; 1962-63.
Diemand, J. A., 1955-56.
Dobson, Sir R., 1951-52.
Doherty, C. J., 1914-15.
Downey, J. P., 1905-06.
Drew, G. A., 1932.
Duncan, J. S., 1952-53.
Duncan, J. S., 1957-58.
Dunton, A. D., 1952-53.
- Eayrs, H., 1929.
Eby, C. S., 1907-08.
Edward VII, 1905-06.
Emery, J. A., 1906-07; 1907-08.

- Fairclough, Hon. E. L., 1957-58.
Falconer, Sir R. A., 1907-08.
Fennell, R., 1928.
Ferguson, G. H., 1940-41.
Ferguson, J., 1903-04.
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B., 1911-12.
Finlay, Lord R., 1919.
Fleming, Hon. D. M., 1957-58;
1959-60.
Fleming, Sir S., 1903-04.
Ford, H., 1951-52.
Foss, E. N., 1904-05.
Foster, Sir G. E., 1906-07;
1907-08; 1914-15.
Foulkes, Gen. C., 1962-63.
Fowler, R. M., 1960-61.
Franca, C., 1958-59.
Fraser, A., 1927.
Freedman, Hon. Justice S.,
1960-61.
Frost, Rt. Hon. L. M., 1961-62.
Fuchs, Sir V., 1958-59.
Fulton, E. D., 1956-57.

Gaby, F. A., 1939-40.
Garner, Sir S., 1956-57.
George, W. K., 1904-05.
Gibson, D. H., 1951-52.
Goggin, D. J., 1904-05; 1908-09.
Goldring, Dr. C. C., 1955-56.
Goodeve, A. S., 1910-11.
Goodeve, Sir C., 1956-57.
Gordon, D., 1954-55.
Gordon, D. M., 1903-04;
1906-07.
Gow, J. G., 1906-07.
Graham, Dr. B., 1955-56.
Greene, F. V., 1906-07.
Greenwood, H., 1907-08.
Grier, A. M., 1903-04.
Griffin, J. W., 1952-53.
Griffith, E. B., 1962-63.

Ham, A., 1915-17.
Hamilton, C. F., 1910-11.
Haney, J. P., 1907-08.
Hanna, D. B., 1907-08.
Harcourt, R. M., 1937-38
Hearst, Sir W., 1922.

Hermant, S., 1950-51.
Herridge, W. T., 1904-05.
Hewitt, A., 1920.
Hibbard, F. W., 1910-11.
Hopkins, J. C., 1906-07;
1910-11.
Horning, L. E., 1908-09.
Hossack, D. C., 1907-08.
Houston, W., 1909-10.
Howe, C. D., 1950-51.
Howse, T. H., 1948-49.
Hughes, J. L., 1905-06; 1907-08.
Hughes, Sir S., 1904-05.
Humphreys, W. E., 1943-44.
Hunter, A. T., 1903-04;
1905-06.
Hutton, M., 1903-1904.

Inwood, A. E. M., 1953-54.

James, C. C., 1910-11.
Jellicoe, Earl, 1919.
Jodoin, C., 1956-57.
Joyce, J. H., 1954-55.
Jupp, D. H., 1956-57.

Kelso, J. J., 1907-08.
Kent, J. P., 1962-63.
Keys, D. R., 1904-05.
Kirkpatrick, A. E., 1926.
Kirkpatrick, G. B., 1905-06.

Lacoste, H. E. F., 1957-58;
1961-62.
Lamport, A., Parkin, J. C.,
1958-59.
Langlier, C. J., 1906-07.
Larke, J. S., 1905-06.
Lawrence, Sir J., 1910-11.
Lawson, H. R., 1959-60.
Legge, Lt. Col. B., 1958-59.
Lloyd, T. E., 1947-48.
Lloyd-George, Lady M.,
1951-52.

MacBeth, J. C. M., 1942-43.
Macdonald, J. A., 1907-08.
Mackay, J. K., 1950-51.
MacKay, Hon. Lt. Col. J. K.,
1961-62; 1962-63.

- Maclean, W. F., 1907-08.
 MacMillan, A., 1909-10.
 MacMillan, Sir E., 1951-52.
 Madden, T. J., 1910-11.
 Martin, Hon. P., 1958-59.
 Mason, J., 1903-04; 1905-06.
 Mawson, Sir D., 1914-15.
 McClellan, Deputy Comm.
 G. B., 1962-63.
 McColl, J. H., 1908-09.
 McCrimmon, A. L., 1914-15.
 McCullough, C. R., 1910-11.
 McGeachy, J. B., 1954-55.
 McGregor, G. R., 1954-55.
 McGuigan, J. C. Cardinal;
 Wells, Rt. Rev. Bishop,
 1953-54.
 McLean, S. J., 1908-09.
 McMullen, J., 1906-07.
 Meighen, A., 1914-15.
 Merchant, Hon. L. T., 1956-57.
 Mercier Cardinal D. J., 1919.
 Merritt, W. H., 1909-10.
 Miles, Sir T., 1956-57.
 Miller, W. G., 1909-10.
 Milligan, G. M., 1906-07.
 Mills, W. L., 1906-07.
 Minehan, L., 1906-07.
 Mitchell, C. H., 1921.
 Montague, W. H., 1903-04;
 1904-05.
 Montague, Lt. Col. W. H.,
 1957-58.
 Morine, A. B., 1906-07;
 1909-10.
 Morris, Sir D., 1907-08.
 Morris, Sir E. P., 1904-05.
 Murray, J. P., 1905-06; 1906-07.

 Nehru, Ambassador B. K.,
 1960-61.
 Neill, Bishop S., 1961-62.
 Neville, R. S., 1908-09.
 Nicholls, F., 1904-05.
 Norstad, Gen. L., 1959-60.

 Osborne, H. C., 1903-04;
 1904-05.

 Parkin, G. R., 1907-08.
 Parks, W. A., 1906-07.
 Pau, P., 1919.
 Pearson, L. B., 1950-51.
 Pense, E. J. B., 1905-06.
 Perks, Sir R. W., 1909-10.
 Perry, J. B., 1915-17.
 Pettypiece, H. J., 1903-04.
 Phimister, Z. S., 1961-62.
 Pike, Rev. Canon V. J., 1954-55.
 Pilkington, Sir H., 1955-56.
 Porter, D. H., 1934-35.
 Powell, H. F., 1937-38.
 Pratt, J. P., 1938-39.
 Pyne, R. A., 1908-09.

 Randall, C. B., 1952-53.
 Rau, Sir B. N., 1950-51.
 Reid, Mrs. Ogden, 1954-55.
 Reuther, Dr. W. P., 1955-56.
 Riddell, W. R., 1909-10;
 1910-11.
 Robarts, Hon. J. P., 1962-63.
 Robertson, A., 1909-10.
 Robinson, G. H., 1908-09.
 Robinson, Dr. James H.,
 1961-62.
 Rootes, Sir W., 1951-52.
 Ross, Sir G. W., 1904-05;
 1906-07; 1908-09; 1909-10.
 Ross, Dr. M. G., 1959-60.
 Ross, P. D., 1909-10.
 Rowell, N. W., 1914-15.
 Ryerson, E., 1904-05.
 Ryerson, G. S., 1909-10.

 St. Laurent, Rt. Hon. L.,
 1952-53.
 Sanderson, C. R., 1941-42.
 Saunders, R. H., 1951-52.
 Sherwood, W. A., 1906-07.
 Sifton, C., 1910-11.
 Simonds, Lt. Gen. G. G.,
 1957-58.
 Smallwood, Hon. J. R., 1959-60.
 Smith, C. B., 1906-07.
 Smith, G. O., 1906-07.
 Sommerville, N., 1917-18.

- Southworth, T., 1904-05.
 Spence, J. D., 1930.
 Spurgeon, A., 1909-10.
 Stanfield, Hon. R. L., 1957-58.
 Stapells, H. G., 1931.
 Stapells, R. A., 1919.
 Stark, Alexander, 1960-61.
 Stephens, G. W., 1910-11.
 Stewart, Dr. A., 1955-56.
 Stewart, D. M., 1905-06.
 Stewart, J. F. M., 1903-04;
 1906-07; 1907-08.
 Strathcona and Mount Royal,
 Lord, 1903-04.
 Stuart, R. J., 1914-15.
 Stupart, Sir R. F., 1903-04.
 Sulte, B., 1903-04.
 Sutherland, R. F., 1905-06.
 Sweeny, J. F., 1909-10; 1912-13.
 Taft, W. H., 1919.
 Thompson, E. F., 1945-46.
 Tsiang, Ambassador T. F.,
 1960-61.
 Tucker, L. N., 1910-11.
 Tweedsmuir, John Buchan, 2nd
 Baron, and Tweedsmuir,
 Lady, 1950-51.
 Tweedsmuir, Lady, 1960-61.
 Tweedsmuir, Lord, 1961-62.
 Vanier, H.E. Maj. Gen. G. P.,
 1960-61.
 Van-Schalkwyk, W., 1960-61.
 Vaughan, B., 1910-11.
 Venkatachar, Hon. C. S.,
 1959-60.
 Vincent, Sir C. E. H., 1904-05.
 Walker, B. E., 1903-04.
 Wallace, O. C. S., 1903-04.
 Weir, W. A., 1905-06.
 White, J., 1909-10; 1910-11.
 Whitton, Miss C., 1950-51.
 Wickett, S. M., 1904-05;
 1907-08.
 Wigglesworth, Hon. R. B.,
 1958-59.
 Wilkinson, E. H., 1923.
 Wilkinson, Right Rev. F. H.,
 1962-63.
 Williams, Gov. G. M., 1958-59.
 Williams, W. E., 1957-58.
 Willison, J. S., 1907-08.
 Wilson, Hon. C. E., 1958-59.
 Windsor, Duke of (when Prince
 of Wales), 1919.

Membership

HONORARY MEMBERS

Field Marshal Viscount
Alexander of Tunis, K.G.,
G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
Daniels, D. K., O.B.E.
Gardiner, F. G., Q.C.

Gillespie, Lt. Col. George H.
Stapells, H. G., A.C.M.A.
Frost, Hon. Leslie M., Q.C.,
LL.D., D.C.L.
Geary, Major B. H., v.c.

LIFE MEMBERS

Allan, William N.
Anderson, D. S.
Ash, W. M. V.
Bassett, J.
Baxter, Ian S.
Baxter, Major James
Beare, S. E.
Beatty, D. S.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Best, Douglas W.
Borins, Norman
Boyles, Thomas A.
Burns, Charles F. W.
Clouse, Frank
Cobham, Arthur H.
Colebrook, H. G.
Comber, W. W.
Corrigan, Dr. C. A.
Cosens, G. G.
Craig, Lt. Col. John A. D.
Cranfield, Dr. Harold V.
Crummey, Dr. Clarence B.
Eaton, Donald L. H.
Eisen, Sol.
Fletcher, S. S.
Frost, Lt. Col. Chas. S., J.R.
Gillingham, W/C Harold G.
Goldring, Dr. C. C.
Gordon, C. Jr.
Harpham, H.
Hellyer, Hon. Paul T., P.C., M.P.
Hermant, Sydney
Hilborn, Lt. Col. Robt. H.
Hogg, Lt. Col. W. D.

Hoffman, Charles C.
Hough, T. E.
Howse, T. H.
Hughes, James O.
Inwood, A. E. M.
Jackman, H. N. R.
Jackman, H. R., Q.C.
Jamieson, H. T.
Johnston, W. D.
Joyce, James H.
Jupp, D. H.
Karn, William M.
Kent, J. Palmer, Q.C.
Keys, N. A., Q.C.
Lambert, A. T.
Lawson, H. R.
Legge, Lt. Col. B. J.
Low, Steven
Mackinnon, Lt. Col. A. P.
MacKay, Hon. Keiller
Matthews, Brig. F. B., C.B.E.,
Q.C.
Matthews, Maj. Gen. A. B.
McKinnon, N. J.
Michener, Hon. D. R., P.C., Q.C.,
LL.D.
Montague, Lt. Col. W. H.
Neelands, D. G.
Pallett, John C.
Parish, Dr. James A.
Phimister, Dr. Z. S.
Ridley, John B.
Roman, S. B.
Rosen, A. E.

Royce, Col. E. A.
 Sandy, J.
 Scythes, J. A.
 Smeed, J. R.
 Stark, Alexander, q.c.
 Strathy, Col. J. G. K.
 Suchorab, S. A.
 Sullivan, Hon. Dr. J. A.

Thompson, Eric F.
 Thomson, Garth O.
 Thomson, K. R.
 Waldie, Gordon
 Watkins, William B.
 Williams, J. K.
 Wotherspoon, Brig. G. D. De S.

RESIDENT

Abbs, Charles E.
 Abbey, Robert
 Abel, John B.
 Abernethy, Lt. Col. W. W.
 Abra, T. S.
 Adair, Joseph
 Acheson, Arthur P.
 Adams, A. H.
 Adams, G. W.
 Adams, H. R.
 Adams, J. C.
 Adams, W. H.
 Adamson, Edwin E.
 Adamson, G. A.
 Adamson, Walter
 Adye, Rev. Canon E. R. G.
 Agar, Norman E.
 Aitken, Lloyd T.
 Aird, A. E.
 Aitchison, R. J.
 Aitken, Robert S.
 Alberts, Edgar T.
 Aletter, H. G.
 Alexander, Robert
 Algar, John
 Allan, Dr. Blandford
 Allanson, H. E.
 Allen, Ivan V.
 Allen, Ralph
 Allen, W.R., q.c.
 Allingham, N. W.
 Allworth, Robert D.
 Ambridge, D. W.
 Ambrose, Sheriff P. J.
 Anderson, Basil
 Anderson, Hugh J.
 Anderson, Major Gen. T. V.,
 D.S.O.

Anderson, J. Murray
 Anderson, R. V.
 Anderson, T. L.
 Andrew, Archdeacon G.
 Andrew, G. C.
 Anglin, Robert S.
 Angus, D. L.
 Angus, L. M.
 Annett, D. R.
 Annett, Lewis L.
 Ante, Dr. Irvin H.
 Anthony, R. F. K.
 Appleton, C. N.
 Archbold, Wm. D.
 Archibald, C. R., q.c.
 Argue, D. R.
 Armour, A. Douglas
 Armour, John M.
 Armstrong, G. A.
 Armstrong, George
 Armstrong, Jas. A.
 Armstrong, Joe C. W.
 Armstrong, John S.
 Armstrong, P. C.
 Armstrong, Robert
 Armstrong, W. G.
 Armstrong, Hon. W. Park
 Arnold, H. A.
 Ashley, Professor C. A.
 Astle, G. W.
 Astley, D. B.
 Atherton, C.
 Atkins, Lt. Col. L. F.
 Auden, M. F.
 Austin, Frank
 Austin, J. Jarvis
 Babcock, Harold A.

- Bagshaw, B. F.
 Bagwell, George B., q.c.
 Bailey, William Gill
 Bailie, A. A.
 Bainard, R. H.
 Baker, Albert G.
 Baker, Allan D.
 Baker, Rev. A. Gordon
 Baker, Donald J.
 Baker, Col. E. A.
 Baker, George
 Baker, John R.
 Baker, R. J.
 Balfour, Norman E.
 Ball, Gordon R.
 Ball, J. R.
 Ballantyne, R. B.
 Band, Philip E.
 Banks, John M.
 Banks, Donald R.
 Bannerman, D. G.
 Bannon, F. J.
 Barber, Orville B.
 Barber, William
 Barclay, D. F.
 Barclay, D. S.
 Bark, W. A.
 Barlow, Hon. Justice F. H.
 Barlow, L. E.
 Barnes, F. A.
 Barr, John A.
 Barrett, F. L.
 Barrett, L. C., q.c.
 Barron, Christopher
 Barter, Ernest J.
 Bartlett, P. H.
 Bartlett, W. H.
 Bate, Wm. B.
 Bater, George W.
 Bates, Dr. Gordon
 Bates, George H.
 Batters, John S.
 Baylis, Roy E.
 Bawden, H. N.
 Baxter, Wm. H.
 Bayes, W. E.
 Bealey, E. R.
 Beamer, C. M.
 Beattie, A. L., q.c.
 Beattie, L. S.
 Beauchamp, Walter N.
 Beaupre, W. J.
 Bedolfe, Robt. D.
 Beeston, George H.
 Bell, B. D. Gordon
 Bell, Clarence W.
 Bell, C. B.
 Bell, D. A. L.
 Bell, J. Donald, q.c.
 Bell, D. W.
 Bell, J. R.
 Bell, Norman B.
 Bell, N.H.
 Bell, Peter
 Bell, W. E.
 Bell, W. E. N.
 Belyea, Roy E.
 Ben, George
 Benitz, John
 Bennett, Bruce T.
 Bennett, David T.
 Bennett, John M., q.c.
 Bennett, Rev. Reginald M.
 Bentley, A. F.
 Bentley, W. A.
 Beresford, J. G.
 Berner, W. G.
 Bernhardt, Professor K. S.
 Berry, Harry H.
 Berry, J. Wilson
 Berry, Rev. Dr. W. G.
 Berwick, Marc
 Best, Dr. C. A.
 Best, Gordon H.
 Best, T. W.
 Bick, Charles O.
 Bickerstaff, A. Harold
 Bickle, W. N.
 Biggar, H. T.
 Biggar, H. Wm.
 Biggs, Stanley C.
 Biggs, G. L.
 Bigham, R. H.
 Bilbrough, W. H.
 Birrell, Dr. Russell G.
 Biscoe, J. V. J.
 Bishop, Joseph
 Bitter, Donald

Black, D. B.
 Black, Paul F.
 Blackburn, D. W.
 Blackstock, C. R.
 Blain, Lysle K.
 Blair, S. M.
 Blair, Willis L.
 Blake, Parker G.
 Blanchet, R. J.
 Blay, J. A.
 Blenkinship, Cecil. S.
 Boehm, A. F.
 Bond, H. B.
 Bongard, Ian A.
 Bonnaffon, A., O.B.E.
 Bonnycastle, Law C.
 Bonus, John L.
 Bonyun, Denis F.
 Booth, C. W.
 Booth, J. K. B.
 Booth, Ross W.
 Borins, Stephen
 Bosanquet, L. C.
 Bosley, W. H.
 Bosworth, N. L.
 Bourne, F. R.
 Bourne, J. H.
 Bourne, T. W. H.
 Bowden, Frank
 Bowden, John A.
 Boxer, D. E.
 Boyd, C. A.
 Boyko, Jos.
 Boyle, B. E.
 Boylen, Lt. Col. P. F.
 Boysen, H. C.
 Bradley, Harold D.
 Bradley, H. R.
 Bradshaw, James A.
 Bradshaw, Melville A.
 Bradshaw, Richard B.
 Bradshaw, Robert H.
 Braham, Richmond R.
 Brain, George M.
 Brander, F. Gerald
 Branson, C.
 Brant, Ruben
 Breakey, B. I. F.
 Breckenridge, R. J.

Breen, J. M.
 Bregman, S.
 Breithaupt, Douglas L.
 Brent, John E.
 Brethour, E. J.
 Brett, H. O.
 Breuer, K.
 Broad, C. H.
 Bruels, Dr. A. M.
 Broad, F. Ralph
 Brockington, L. W.
 Brocklebank, Frank
 Brodie, Robert
 Brodsky, Jack
 Brooke, J. F.
 Brooks, Dr. Clarence E.
 Brooks, D. A. S.
 Brooks, Herbert
 Brooks-Hill, F. B.
 Broomfield, George
 Brosseau, B. L. P.
 Brown, Arthur E.
 Brown, D. A.
 Brown, Donald J.
 Brown, F. I.
 Brown, G. D.
 Brown, George M.
 Brown, Hugh E.
 Brown, J. L.
 Brown, James N. M.
 Brown, J. Sommerville
 Brown, J. W.
 Brown, Mannie
 Brown, Marcus L.
 Brown, R. S.
 Brown, T. F. S.
 Brown, Rev. W. L.
 Brownbill, H. F.
 Browne, George R.
 Browne, W. Herman
 Browning, W. H.
 Brumell, J. K.
 Brundage, C.
 Brunskill, A. M.
 Bruton, M. W.
 Bryan, F. J.
 Buck, Dr. C. A.
 Buck, Capt. W. R.
 Buckley, R. J.

Budd, E. Bruce
 Buddenhagen, W. C.
 Bullied, Arthur
 Bundy, Robert G.
 Bunting, Pearce
 Burden, J. M., q.c.
 Burgess, H. T.
 Burgess, R. B.
 Burgess, Ray
 Burka, A. M.
 Burke, E. T. C.
 Burke, H. Gwynne
 Burke, Wm. G.
 Burn, John M.
 Burn, Kenneth
 Burnard, F. S.
 Burnham, Arthur J.
 Burns, G. B.
 Burns, James E.
 Burns, Lt. Col. L. J. W.
 Burnside, Ed. G.
 Burrows, R. G., q.c.
 Burton, E. G.
 Burton, Lt. Col. G. A.
 Burtyk, M.
 Bury, W. H.
 Bushnell, Wm. J.
 Butler, Ian
 Butler, Sir Michael, B.T.
 Butler, Thomas S.
 Butler, W. Chester
 Butt, Leonard W.
 Byers, Victor G.

 Cade, D. R.
 Cadesky, L.
 Cadario, H. P.
 Caird, J. F.
 Calladine, Eric A.
 Callow, A. C.
 Cambridge, Lt. Col. J. D.
 Cameron, D. G.
 Cameron, E. Rodney
 Cameron, R. C.
 Camken, L. A., M.B.E.
 Campbell, Alex
 Campbell, A. McE.
 Campbell, Brig. Colin A.
 Campbell, D. L., q.c.

Campbell, E. M.
 Campbell, H. C.
 Campbell, Dr. H. H.
 Campbell, Ian L.
 Campbell, Lt. Col. J. D. H.
 Campbell, John R., q.c.
 Campbell, N. D.
 Campbell, Paul J.
 Campbell, Hon. Peter, G.Q.C.
 Campbell, Wm. M.
 Cane, A.
 Cannon, Dr. C. F.
 Caplan, Isadore
 Cappe, N. R., q.c.
 Cardy, A. Gordon
 Carleton, Major W. J.
 Carey, A. R.
 Carlisle, D. C.
 Carnegie, A. D.
 Carnegie, F. T.
 Carpenter, J. H.
 Carr, E. P.
 Carradus, Capt. H. R.
 Carrick, Donald, q.c.
 Carsley, L. L.
 Carson, C. E.
 Carson, J. C.
 Carson, R. B.
 Cartwright, T.
 Carver, R. D.
 Carson, James L.
 Cary, Reginald
 Casciato, L.
 Cassidy, Hugh F.
 Cassels, Gordon T.
 Casserly, F. W.
 Casson, Richard
 Castle, E. W.
 Catto, Jas. A.
 Catto, John
 Cavell, H. E.
 Chadsey, P. J.
 Chalmers, Floyd S.
 Chambers, Lt. D. P.
 Champion, R. H.
 Chandler, Frank G.
 Chant, Dixon S.
 Chaplin, James R.
 Chapman, S. F.

- Chappell, H.
 Charles, Leo E.
 Chase, T. Millar
 Checkley, J. W.
 Chester, Lane R.
 Chipp, W. G.
 Chisholm, Lionel
 Chisholm, Robt. F.
 Chittick, W. J. H.
 Chorlton, John M.
 Christian, Brig. J. D., C.B.E.
 Christie, Col. J. H.
 Christopher, W. H.
 Chrysler, H. W.
 Chubb, S. G.
 Ciglen, Samuel
 Clark, A. P.
 Clark, A. S.
 Clark, E. C.
 Clark, George F.
 Clarke, G. F. S.
 Clarke, James H.
 Clarke, John A.
 Clarke, K. H. J.
 Clarkson, G. H.
 Clarry, John H. C.
 Clemence, J. C.
 Clemen, J. C.
 Clinkard, Herbert S.
 Clute, F. J.
 Cobban, William A.
 Cockburn, Blake A.
 Cohagan, W. J.
 Cohen, John C.
 Coke, Major E. F.
 Colby, S. A.
 Cole, Sydney
 Cole, T. F. C.
 Colebourn, Victor K.
 Coleman, Edward
 Coleman, Dr. Wm. H.
 Coles, Gordon E.
 Coles, Harry F.
 Collett, W. M.
 Collier, W. R.
 Collombin, Beverley
 Colnett, B. E.
 Connell, J. H. E.
 Connolly, C. P.
 Conner, Gordon
 Conquergood, C. R.
 Consulat General of France
 Consulate of Portugal
 Coo, H. Douglas
 Coo, N. Douglas
 Cook, Douglas H.
 Cook, F. Gordon, Q.C.
 Cook, H. E.
 Cook, R. A.
 Cooper, F. S.
 Cooper, G. E.
 Cooper, W/C John H.
 Cooper, Russell W. A.
 Cooper, Dr. W. J.
 Copeland, G. W.
 Copeland, Col. W. M.
 Corbett, J. E.
 Corbett, H. Milton
 Corcoran, W. J.
 Cork, E. Kendall
 Corlett, Alva R.
 Cormack, Wm. B.
 Corneille, Rev. R. De
 Cornish, F. Joseph, Q.C.
 Corrigan, J. H.
 Cory, Peter D.
 Cosbie, Dr. W. G., M.C.
 Cosby, Stanley C.
 Cosgrave, Rev. Dr. F. H.
 Coutts, Earle K.
 Coutts, Wm. E.
 Coventry, A. J.
 Cowan, Albert
 Cowan, B. G.
 Cowan, H.F.
 Cowan, O. D.
 Cowan, W. D.
 Coward, Laurence E.
 Cowling, Alfred H.
 Cox, E. S.
 Cox, John V.
 Cox, Norman
 Cox, Trevor C.
 Cox, Wm. H.
 Coyne, James E.
 Crabtree, Alan H.
 Craick, W. A.
 Craig, J. L.

Craigie, Major W. A., C.D.
 Crang, J. H.
 Crann, Howard N.
 Cranston, R. A.
 Crashley, Lt. Col. J. D., C.D.,
 A.D.C.
 Crawford, E. S.
 Crawford, E. H.
 Crawford, F. J.
 Crawford, H. P.
 Crawford, John K. L.
 Creber, G. E.
 Creighton, W. L.
 Creswell, D.
 Cresswell, J. A.
 Crichton, R. J.
 Crispin, R. John
 Critchley-Waring, Angus C. B.
 Crompton, Maurice W.
 Crone, M. H.
 Croombs, Wm. J.
 Crosbie, Robert W.
 Cross, Rev. Canon C. D.
 Cross, E. A.
 Cross, W. B.
 Crossan, J. H.
 Crossley, Donald G.
 Crossley, F. W.
 Crossingham, J. H.
 Crowhurst, Fred
 Crown, Lt. Col. H. F.
 Crudge, R. W.
 Crump, James F.
 Cudbird, L. J.
 Cudbird, T. J. V.
 Culbert, K. A.
 Culnan, Dr. G. F.
 Cumming, H. V.
 Cummings, W. M.
 Cummins, R. L.
 Currie, Gordon S.
 Currie, Wm. M.
 Currie, Wm. Seaton
 Curry, T. E.
 Currie, Percival H.
 Curtis, G. H.
 Curtis, Gordon
 Curtis, W. A.
 Cuthbertson, Gordon

Cutler, J. F.
 Dagg, H. M.
 Dale, R. G., D.S.O., D.F.C.
 Dales, Robert L.
 Dalrymple, J. E.
 Dalton, Lt. Col. C. O., D.S.O.
 Dalton, Wm. H.
 Daly, R. A.
 Daly, R. A., Jr.
 Darbyshire, W.
 Darroch, H. C.
 Davey, Frederic
 Davey, R. Ian
 Davidson, I. D., C.B.E.
 Davidson, Philip, Q.C.
 Davidson, Ross W.
 Davie, J. H.
 Davies, Rev. Emlyn
 Davies, Rev. F. V.
 Davies, H. E.
 Davis, E. R.
 Davison, L. M.
 Davy, Henry M.
 Dawes, Herbert
 Day, C. J. L.
 Day, H. R.
 Day, Robert
 Day, William D.
 Deacon, Donald M.
 Deacon, John A., Q.C.
 Deacon, Paul S.
 Deacon, T. R., Q.C.
 Dean, Harold B.
 Deans, M. C.
 Dedman, Arthur M.
 Deguerre, Fred L.
 Delamere, R. D.
 Denne, A. J.
 Denning, Rev. Harry M.
 Dennis, David L.
 Dennison, William
 Denton, J. Richard
 Derry, Dr. Duncan R.
 Desbrisay, J. T.
 Despard, John E.
 Devey, Gordon R.
 Devor, B.
 Dewar, A. M.

Dewar, K. M.
 Dewsbury, Howard
 Dick, A. R., Q.C.
 Dickinson, M. R.
 Dickinson, Rev. Dr. C. H.
 Dierlam, Howard
 Dies, Wm. C.
 Dignam, D. S.
 Diltz, B. C.
 Dilworth, W. A.
 Dingle, D. B.
 Dinsdale, S. E., Q.C.
 Disney, Russell
 Dix, Wm. B.
 Dixon, B.
 Dixon, W. M.
 Doe, Roger G.
 Doherty, J. H.
 Dolson, Dr. Wilbur J. M.
 Donolo, Louis
 Donovan, Geo. R., Jr.
 Dorken, H. R.
 Doughty, C.
 Douglas, H. R.
 Douglas, Peter
 Dowie, Ian R.
 Downer, Capt. The Hon. Rev.
 A. W., M.P.P.
 Downie, I. A.
 Dowsett, H.
 Dowsett, R. E.
 Draper, J. W. P.
 Drucker, L. D.
 Drury, G. M.
 Drutz, Dr. M. G.
 Dryden, C. R.
 Dubin, C. L., Q.C.
 Duff, John A.
 Duffett, Norman G.
 Duggan, William M.
 Duguid, Lorne W.
 Dunbar, Arthur W.
 Duncan, D. F.
 Duncan, J. R.
 Duncan, Robert A.
 Duncan, W. A.
 Dunkelmann, D.
 Dunlop, Major Edward A., G.M.,
 O.B.E.

Dunlop, J. P.
 Dunlop, W. A.
 Dunmall, Maurice M.
 Dunnet, Gordon
 Dunsdon, Lionel H.
 Durnan, N. E.
 Dutton, Thomas M.
 Dwyer, F. A.
 Dwhyttie, K. I.
 Dye, Edward H. M.
 Dye, Harold E.
 Dye, R. A. E.
 Dyer, Virgil V.

Eade, Edgar
 Eakin, Joseph S.
 Eastoe, S.
 Eby, Peter B.
 Eckersley, Alfred
 Eckler, Samuel
 Edgar, G. Fleming
 Edison, John G., Q.C.
 Edwards, Alexander
 Edwards, A. H.
 Edwards, A. Geoffrey
 Edwards, Charles A.
 Edwards, Dr. H. E.
 Edwards, H. W.
 Edwards, James C.
 Edwards, S. E.
 Eker, Paul M.
 Elder, C. K.
 Elder, John J.
 Elgie, G. C., Q.C.
 Elias, Murray
 Elliot, B. V., Q.C.
 Elliott, C.
 Elliott, Charles R.
 Elliott, Donald R.
 Elliott, G. E.
 Elliott, H. H.
 Elliott, H. J.
 Elliott, Stephen
 Elliott, W. Earle
 Ellis, C. Q.
 Ellis, J. F.
 Ellison, R. S.
 Elmore, Thos. S., Q.C.
 Elton, J. O.

Ely, Edward H.
 Emerson, R. V.
 Emmert, T. J.
 Emond, Douglas L.
 Emonson, Bruce
 Empringham, John R.
 Engholm, R. A.
 England, W. T.
 Epstein, H. B.
 Epstein, Morris H.
 Esson, W. L.
 Estoe, Stanley
 Ethell, H.
 Etherington, F. C.
 Evans, J. R.
 Evans, S. T.
 Ezrin, Sydney

Faber, George
 Fair, Albert W.
 Fairbrain, R. L.
 Fairclough, Arthur B.
 Fairclough, R. Peter
 Fallis, Clare R.
 Fallis, Geo. A., q.c.
 Falls, Orville M.
 Faludi, Eugene G.
 Fardoe, H. R.
 Farley, T. S.
 Farmer, G. A.
 Farmer, Patterson
 Farwell, C. Franklin, q.c.
 Farwell, S. M., q.c.
 Faulder, W. H.
 Favager, F. G.
 Fayle, L. V.
 Feigman, Leonard
 Fell, Anthony
 Feltmate, A. S.
 Ferguson, C. A. R.
 Ferguson, Geo. S. P.
 Ferguson, Graham C.
 Fessenden, C. V.
 Field, E. M.
 Field, Lewis E.
 Fingold, S.
 Findlay, William
 Fish, B.
 Fisher, A. G.

Fisher, A. J.
 Fisher, Frank
 Fisher, G. A. J.
 Fisher, J. Taylor
 Fitzgibbons, J. J., Jr.
 Fleming, Hon. D. M., P.C., Q.C.
 Fleming, R. J.
 Flint, Lyman G.
 Flood, Lennox E.
 Flora, L. J.
 Flynn, W. Hugh
 Fockler, Ewart K.
 Fodor, Nicholas
 Follett, Archibald J.
 Follett, Gordon
 Follett, Ralph N.
 Foot, D. L.
 Forbes, G. E. Gordon
 Ford, A. Douglas
 Ford, Gordon W., q.c.
 Ford, Kenneth G.
 Forman, Jerome F.
 Forster, F. E.
 Forsyth, C. D.
 Foster, R. E.
 Foulds, K. A.
 Fournier, R. P.
 Fowler, Harvey
 Fowler, T. O. W.
 Fox, George E.
 Fox, John H.
 Fox, G. Kingsley
 Foyston, Donald E.
 Francis, Dr. W. G.
 Frankel, Roy H.
 Frankish, Wm. B.
 Franks, H. R.
 Fraser, A. T. L.
 Fraser, Lt. Col. C. E.
 Fraser, D. G.
 Fraser, Hon. Mr. Justice Neil
 Freedman, Bernard
 Freeman, C. E.
 Freeman, L. R., q.c.
 Freiser, Leonard H.
 Fremes, C.
 French, D. J.
 French, Eric A.
 French, S. C.

Freshney, Malcolm A.
 Freyseng, Willis P.
 Fricker, Eric
 Friesen, Edward J.
 Froberg, Dr. M. H.
 Frolick, S. W.
 Frost, Major C. S., M.C.
 Frost, Grant
 Fry, H.
 Fryer, J. Dudley
 Funston, R. O.

Gaasenbeek, M.
 Gaines, John C.
 Gairdner, James A.
 Gairdner, John S.
 Galbraith, C. W.
 Galilee, John
 Gallagher, A. N.
 Gallagher, Rev. W. J.
 Galloway, Charles T. P.
 Gamble, A.
 Garbutt, W. C.
 Gardiner, Geo. C.
 Gardiner, Percy R.
 Gardner, John H.
 Garlick, R. D.
 Garrett, Albert H.
 Garside, S. T.
 Gartley, John C.
 Gaskell, Ian M.
 Gassard, H. L.
 Gathercole, Geo. E.
 Gaunt, J. Wm.
 Gedyne, W. P. B.
 Geggie, Thomas P.
 Geisler, R. A.
 Gelber, Marvin B., M.P.
 Gelinas, E. A.
 Geller, J. A.
 Gemmell, John S.
 Gerrard, W.
 Gerstein, Bertrand
 Gervias, Morris
 Gianelli, Brig. N. A.
 Gibson, Hon. Mr. Justice Colin
 Gibson, J. Douglas
 Gibson, George D.
 Gibson, Harold

Gibson, Brig. T. Graeme
 Gilbert, P. L.
 Gilbride, W. P.
 Giles, Harvey A.
 Giles, Peter A. K.
 Gill, Ernest I.
 Gillanders, Dr. E. B.
 Gillelan, D. R.
 Gillespie, A. Grant
 Gillespie, Ross R.
 Gillham, John
 Glassco, J. Grant, O.B.E.
 Glover, John
 Glover, H. N.
 Goad, J. B.
 Godbold, R. S.
 Godfrey, Frank
 Godfrey, J. M., Q.C.
 Godin, J. K.
 Godsall, G. H.
 Goering, S. C.
 Gohn, Byron E.
 Gold, D. L.
 Golder, Hugh O.
 Golding, Mark
 Goldring, C. Warren
 Goldring, Dr. L. W.
 Goldsmith, I.
 Goldsmith, Martin
 Goldsmith, W. L.
 Goldson, W. L.
 Gooch, T. H.
 Goodchild, J. W. F.
 Gooderham, F. L.
 Gooderham, Lt. Col. Melville S.
 Goodfellow, E. J.
 Goodman, Edwin A.
 Goodman, Fred C., M.C.
 Goodman, J. E.
 Goodman, J. O.
 Gordon, David
 Gordon, Lt. Col. D. L., M.B.E.
 Gordon, Edwin W.
 Gordon, Brig. J. N., D.S.O.
 Gordon, Sidney
 Gordon, W. Earle
 Gore, Graham M.
 Gorham, W. E.
 Gosling, Gordon W.

Gossage, B. F.
 Gotfrid, S.
 Gouinlock, Robert W., Jr.
 Gould, G. E.
 Goulding, E. D.
 Gourley, George
 Gowland, Rev. Arthur
 Graesser, H. F.
 Grafstrom, V. F.
 Graham, Allan
 Graham, D. M.
 Graham, Lt. Gen. H. D., C.B.E.,
 D.S.O.
 Graham, James J.
 Graham, J. Lindsay
 Graham, J. Rennie
 Graham, Dr. R. Bruce
 Grainger, R. Norman
 Grandy, T. C.
 Grant, Major C. M., M.B.E., C.D.
 Grant, David R.
 Grant, G. E.
 Grant, G. O.
 Grant, J. Donald
 Grant, J. W.
 Grant, James A.
 Grant, J. R.
 Grant, R. H.
 Grant, W. G. F.
 Grasett, H. W. S.
 Gravely, Patrick
 Gray, K. J.
 Gray, W. Douglas
 Gray, W. Lorne
 Green, A. I.
 Green, Joseph L.
 Green, J. D.
 Greenbloom, Murray
 Greenglass, David
 Greenglass, Morton
 Greenwood, Lawrence G.
 Greenwood, W. Harold
 Gregor, T. P.
 Gregory, Rev. L. A.
 Greig, D. N.
 Grier, Col. C. G. M., E.D., M.A.
 Griesdale, Charles E.
 Griffin, Eric J.
 Griffin, John W.

Griffiths, W. David, Q.C.
 Griffiths, F. D.
 Grills, R. M.
 Grimby, Maurice
 Grose, George W.
 Groskurth, S. Ivan
 Gross, Charles
 Gross, H.
 Growcock, R. J.
 Gullett, Dr. D. W.
 Gundy, Charles L.
 Gunn, Charles A.
 Gunn, Major General J. A.
 Gunn, R. A.
 Gunn, Robert F.
 Gwynne-Timothy, K.

Hadden, Eugene R.
 Hagon, W. A.
 Hahn, George
 Haldenby, D. C.
 Hall, F. E.
 Hall, G. E.
 Hall, H.
 Hall, Howard A.
 Hall, P. Frank T.
 Halsall, R.
 Hambly, William J.
 Hamill, T. H.
 Hamilton, A. S.
 Hamilton, F. C.
 Hamilton, H. A.
 Hamilton, John P.
 Hamilton, R. M. P.
 Hamlett, L. R.
 Hancocks, Oliver
 Hangle, J. A.
 Hannah, Dr. Walter J.
 Hansen, Thor
 Harbinson, V. D.
 Harding, John L.
 Hardy, Eric
 Hargraft, G. M.
 Hargraft, W. M.
 Hargreaves, A. J.
 Harley, D. S.
 Harpur, F. G.
 Harries, Lt. Col. M. R., M.B.E.,
 C.D.

- Harrington, Dr. Paul
 Harris, Edward L.
 Harris Peter
 Harris, S. J.
 Harris, William B.
 Harris, W. C.
 Harvey, Warren G.
 Harvey, Dr. W. J.
 Harvie, Eric A.
 Haskins, J. E.
 Hassard, Richard J.
 Hasted, S.
 Hatton, Rev. Noble
 Hatton, Wm. T.
 Hawes, Fred J.
 Hawke, J. H.
 Hawken, J. B.
 Hawkins, H. J.
 Hay, Frank
 Hayden, Hon. Salter A.
 Hayes, Barry B.
 Hayes, B. P.
 Hayes, John D.
 Hayhurst, W. L.
 Hayman, J. L.
 Hayward, A. P.
 Hearst, H. V., q.c.
 Heath, L. B.
 Hebb, Peter H.
 Heighington, S.
 Heintzman, C. H.
 Heisey, W. Lawrence
 Hellens, A. D.
 Helliwell, Paul B.
 Helm, Clifford T.
 Hemingway, B. Sinclair
 Hendershot, F. D.
 Henderson, D. A.
 Henderson, D. C.
 Henderson, John C.
 Henderson, J. J.
 Henderson, Leo
 Henderson, R. P.
 Henderson, R. S.
 Henderson, William R.
 Hendry, Prof. C. E.
 Hendry, R. K.
 Hendy, Robt. I., q.c.
 Henry, Charles J.
 Henry, Edwin M.
 Henson, R. C. C.
 Henry, T. P.
 Henty, S.
 Hepburn, John T.
 Hercus, B. B.
 Hermant, Peter
 Heron, M. W.
 Herridge, W. R.
 Hewett, F. G.
 Heyland, K. V.
 Heywood, Dr. P. M.
 Hickey, Winston E.
 Hicks, R. L.
 Hicks, Martin R.
 Hicks-Lyne, T. K. E.
 Hickson, D. E.
 Hill, F. W.
 Hill, Geoffrey W.
 Hill, Roy C.
 Hill, William S.
 Hilliard, R. J.
 Hillmer, George P.
 Hillmer, R. W.
 Hilton, John D.
 Hinton, D. R.
 Hitchins, Capt. Douglas H.
 Hoare, J. E., Jr.
 Hobson, A.
 Hodgins, Willard T.
 Hogarth, Richard
 Hogg, Stanton B.
 Holditch, Ross O.
 Holford, Wm. D.
 Holland, Douglas F.
 Holland, Graham H.
 Hollinrake, Anthony
 Holloway, Lt. Col. R. D.
 Holmes, B. T.
 Holmes, Hartley R.
 Holmes James M.
 Holmes, M. W.
 Holt, M. O.
 Honsberger, G. Vernon
 Honsberger, Hugh S.
 Hooker, Edwin R. K.
 Hooper, Colin C.
 Horkins, Edward W., q.c.
 Hopkins, Howard

Hopkins, Percy E.
 Hore, John E.
 Horner, David K.
 Hornyansky, N.
 Horsey, Grant
 Horvath, Lt. Col. E., E.D.
 Houston, Alan C.
 Houston, William F.
 Houghton, P. J.
 Howard, A. L.
 Howard, Benson C.
 Howard, G. S.
 Howard, J. F.
 Howe, A. W.
 Howes, David L.
 Howie, K. E.
 Howkins, A. C.
 Howland, William G. C.
 Howse, Rev. E. M.
 Huffman, Geo. E.
 Huffman, Karl
 Huggard, Major C. O.
 Hughes, H. E.
 Hughes, J. Edward
 Hughes, R. A.
 Hugill, Albert E.
 Hugill, W. M.
 Hull, G. S.
 Hull, Rodney
 Hulse, Joseph H.
 Humphries, W. R. B.
 Hume, F. R.
 Hungerford, J. G., Q.C.
 Hunnisett, E. A.
 Hunt, A. T.
 Hunt, Rt. Rev. H. R.
 Hunt, W. E. Harvey
 Hunter, A. T.
 Hunter, B. Pepall
 Hunter, E. Norval
 Hunter, H. B.
 Hunter, Howard W.
 Hunter, K. M.
 Hunter, Rev. L. I.
 Hunter, P. W.
 Huntsman, Dr. A. G.
 Hurley, Frank H.
 Hutchinson, J. D. H.
 Hutchison, R. T.

Hutchison, W. L.
 Hyde, Edwin G.
 Hyde, Harry
 Hyland, Clifford B.
 Hyland, Nelson A.
 Hymes, R. L.
 Hynes, G. E.

Inglis, D. H.
 Ingram, William
 Inkster, L. A.
 Innes, J. S.
 Irving, J. D.
 Irving, T. G.
 Irwin, A. L.
 Irwin, John
 Irwin, Norman L.
 Irwin, O. Ross
 Irwin, W. S.
 Isbister, P. D.

Jack, Graeme
 Jackson, Lt. Col. M. I., C.A., C.D.
 Jackson, W. A.
 Jacques, E. M.
 Jaffey, J. M.
 Jaffray, P.
 James, K. M.
 James, R. W. F.
 Jameson, C. W.
 Jamieson, J. M.
 Jamison, L. G.
 Jardine, Roland G.
 Jarman, Robert E.
 Jarvis, Albert
 Jarvis, Edward S.
 Jarvis, Robert S.
 Jeanneret, Dr. F. C. A.
 Jeffrey, Paul G.
 Jenkins, John S.
 Jennett, Lorne B.
 Jenney, H. B.
 Jennings, D. M.
 Jennings, M. R.
 Jennison, G. L.
 Jephcott, Dr. C. M.
 Johnson, Dr. Joseph
 Johnson, Sidney
 Johnson, T. N.

Johnston, R. C.
 Joliffe, E. B., q.c.
 Jolliffe, Lieut. Col. W. H.
 Jones, D. W.
 Jones, E.
 Jones, E. L.
 Jones, Oakah L.
 Jones, Peter F.
 Jones, R. E.
 Jones, R. S.
 Jones, R. Walden
 Jones, T. L.
 Jones, W. G.
 Jordan, W. D.
 Jousse, Dr. A. T.
 Joy, A. P. G.
 Joyce, Wallace R.

Kane, Hugh
 Kardish, Joseph
 Kasman, Philip
 Kasman, Sheldon M.
 Kay, George W. B.
 Kay, W. R.
 Kaye, Alex B.
 Keachie, Wm. D.
 Keaveney, Derek G.
 Keefer, Major T. C.
 Keeler, L. A.
 Keenan, J. S.
 Keeping, Hugh A.
 Keers, W. S.
 Keith, Arthur G.
 Keith, I. G.
 Kellermann, M. W.
 Kellock, The Hon. R. L.
 Kellow, Ralph S.
 Kelly, Norman H.
 Kelly, Dr. Peter
 Kelly, T. E.
 Kennedy, Jack R.
 Kenny, M. K.
 Kent, T. Douglas
 Kent, T. Edward
 Kenton, Rolf
 Kernaghan, E. B.
 Kernaghan, K. W.
 Kerr, D. M.
 Kerr, James W.

Kerr, John E., q.c.
 Kerr, L. W.
 Kerr, W. R.
 Kershaw, D.
 Kert, Lawrence
 Kert, Sheldon
 Keyes, Gordon
 Kidd, David
 Killackey, J. C.
 Kilpatrick, Brian
 Kinahan, John W.
 King, Charles W.
 King, Charles W.
 King, Christopher C.
 King, Edward O.
 King, T. A.
 Kinghorn, A. A.
 Kingsbury, E. D.
 Kingsmill, A. S.
 Kingsmill, Col. C. D.
 Kinnear, H. W., q.c.
 Kinsman, W. Ralph
 Kirbyson, R. E.
 Kirk, Gordon
 Kirkendale, J. D.
 Kirkpatrick, R. C.
 Kirschbaum, Dr. Jos. M.
 Kitchen, C. E., q.c.
 Kitchen, Dr. Irving D.
 Kitchen, Rev. Sterling
 Knapp, D. F.
 Knight, J. F.
 Knill, B. T. H.
 Koerber, Walter F.
 Koerner, Michael M.
 Koerner, W. R.
 Komuro, Kazuhide
 Koropp, John
 Kortright, L. H. G.
 Kyle, James C.

Lace, Brigadier F. D.
 Lacey, Rev. E. C.
 Lackie, Dan
 La Ferle, Charles
 Laffey, James V.
 Laidlaw, R. A.
 Laidley, K. R.
 Laing, G. Blair

500 MEMBERSHIP

- Laing, J. N.
 Lake, Capt. J. F.
 Lampert, H.
 Lamport, A. A.
 Landreville, Hon. Justice L. A.
 Lane, F. E.
 Lang, D. W.
 Lang, William
 Langer, Henry Peter
 Langford, Dr. G. B.
 Langford, H. E., Q.C.
 Langley, Alex. C.
 Langley, Arthur J.
 Large, Peter K.
 Lark, Rev. G. A. W.
 Larkin, Montague
 Larry, Lou J.
 Lascelles, G. A.
 Laski, Dr. Bernard
 Laughlin, J. E.
 Laurence, H. A.
 Laurin, C. J.
 Law, Robert
 Lawer, John W.
 Lawlor, J. P.
 Lawrason, Jack D.
 Lawrence, A. F., M.P.P.
 Lawrence, Jack
 Lawson, Frank G.
 Lawson, M. B. M.
 Laxton, Edward
 Lay, Harry M.
 Leadbeater, Wm. J.
 Leake, Ray
 Leal, Allan H.
 Lecapelain, R. R.
 Leck, R. H.
 Leckey, R. G.
 Ledingham, H. R.
 Ledsham, John A.
 Lee, H. T. I.
 Lee, Paul A.
 Legge, W. R.
 Lehberg, F. H.
 Leibel, Dr. Bernard
 Leibel, William
 Leitch, John M.
 Leith, Rev. J. Scott
 Lemay, Roderick T. M.
 Lemesurier, A. S.
 Lemesurier, J. Ross
 Lemmon, A. H.
 Lemon, Herbert G.
 Lester, R. M.
 Letendre, P. F.
 Leventhal, Dr. J. I.
 Levenston, Lt. Col. G. F.
 Lever, Harold
 Levinter, Benjamin V.
 Levinter, Isadore, Q.C.
 Levy, Mark
 Levy, Mort. L.
 Lewis, Dr. A. C.
 Lewis, Claude E.
 Lewis, Richard G.
 Lewis, Roderick
 Lewtas, James L.
 Lewthwaite, R. G.
 Libman, Ben
 Lillyman, R.
 Lind, A. U.
 Lind, W. H.
 Lindsay, A. F.
 Lindsay, Martin R.
 Lindsay, W. W.
 Lindsley, Thayer
 Linklater, James W.
 Linton, H.
 Liscombe, Wm. L.
 Little, G. Douglas
 Littler, W. T.
 Littlejohn, E. L.
 Livermore, J. S.
 Livingston, J. A.
 Lloyd, Trevor
 Loftus, R.
 Loftus, S.
 Lofquist, J. C.
 Lomer, David
 London, Norman H.
 Long, Norman W.
 Longbotham, C. M.
 Lord, Dr. G. Ross
 Loucks, D. T.
 Loverseed, A. F.
 Lovett, J. H.
 Lucas, F. O.
 Lucas, Gordon T.

Lucas, R.
 Lucas, S. F.
 Luckett, James S.
 Ludlow, Basil G.
 Lumsden, H. E.
 Lumsden, Peter D.
 Lund, K. A.
 Lundy, R. J.
 Lundy, Stanley
 Lunney, Dennis A.
 Lusby, Eric B.
 Lush, H. V.
 Lutton, T. G.
 Luxenberg, B., Q.C.
 Lyall, Richard H.
 Lynas, A. J.
 Lynd, W. L.
 Lyndon, Patrick
 Lyon, J. R.
 Lyons, John W.

Mabley, C. B.
 Macarthur, J. R. Ian
 MacCullum, N. Whitney
 MacDiarmid, K. H.
 Macdonald, Arthur A.
 MacDonald, Donald C., M.P.P.
 Macdonald, G. B.
 Macdonald, H. I.
 Macdonald, John W.
 MacDonald, J. K.
 MacDonald, Murdoch K.
 Macdonald, W. B.
 MacDonald, Wm. L.
 Macdonell, H. W.
 MacDonell, Rex B. G.
 Macdonnell, J. M.
 Macdougall, W. M.
 Macfarlane, D. A.
 Macfarlane, Dr. J. A.
 Macfarlane, W. S.
 Macfeeters, R. L.
 MacGregor, Robert H.
 Macintosh, J. M., Q.C.
 Macintosh, R. M.
 MacKay, John L.
 MacKenzie, Bryce R. P.
 Mackechnie, Charles
 Mackenzie, J. R.

MacKenzie, D. Rae
 Mackerrow, R.
 Mackersy, L. S.
 Mackey, James
 Mackie, R. A.
 MacKinnon, Dr. A. R.
 MacKinnon, P. B. L.
 MacLaren, Ian
 MacLean, Hugh J.
 Macleod, D. R.
 MacLeod, G. H.
 MacMahon, David
 Macnaughton, A., Q.C.
 MacPhee, Norman
 Mackpherson, Donald S.
 Maedel, Clare W.
 Magee, Harold L.
 Magherini, Georges
 Mahoney, Ed
 Mainguy, Vice Admiral E. R.,
 O.B.E., C.D.
 Mair, Mace, O.B.E.
 Male, W. Harold
 Manchee, F. C.
 Mann, W. J.
 Mann, Wm. H.
 Manning, J. E.
 Manning, J. R.
 Marchant, C. R.
 Marchment, W. R.
 Marchington, W.
 Markon, K. L.
 Marks, Major John B.
 Marr, D. P.
 Marriott, A. S.
 Marshall, G. M.
 Marshall, H.
 Marshall, K.
 Marshall, R. H.
 Martin, A., D.F.C.
 Martin, A. S.
 Martin, W. M., Q.C.
 Martin, C. S.
 Martin, J. C.
 Mascal, David W.
 Mason, J. A.
 Mason, William R.
 Massie, Major J. H. C.
 Massie, R. H. L.

- Mather, John J.
 Mathews, Norman L., Q.C.
 Matthews, James G.
 Matthews, F. J.
 Matthews, John L.
 Matthews, Wilfrid E.
 Mawson, K.
 Maybee, W. E.
 Maynard, J. C.
 Mayo, Geo. F. M.
 Mayson, I. A.
 Mayzel, Harry
 Mayzel, Louis
 Mazzoleni, Dr. E.
 McAfee, Raymond E.
 McAlpine, C. L.
 McAlpine, R. J.
 McAvoy, L. P.
 McBain, Alex. McD.
 McBride, Ernest W.
 McCabe, V. J.
 McCaffrey, E. R.
 McCamus, W. H.
 McCann, Fred V.
 McCarthy, John
 McCartney, Wm. S.
 McCaul, L. F.
 Mccausland, Gordon A.
 McClellan, L. A.
 McClure, G. Chester
 McConaghy, James A.
 McConkey, D. C.
 McConnell, J. E.
 McCool, Major Brian S.
 McCormack, T. G.
 McCracken, James C.
 McCraw, D. F.
 McCready, E. J.
 McCrimmon, John G.
 McCulley, Joseph
 McCullough, J. L.
 McCullough, Dr. R. S.
 McCutcheon, Hon. M. Wallace
 McCutcheon, W. L.
 McDevitt, P. T.
 McDiarmid, Hugh
 McDonald, D. F.
 McDonald, W. H.
 McDonnell, W. S., Q.C.
 McDougald, John A.
 McEachern, C.D.
 McEachren, Lt. Col. Frank F.
 McEachern, John M.
 McEachern, R. A.
 McEnaney, V. X.
 McEwen, A/V/M C. M.
 McEwen, Gordon C.
 McGaw, Albert F.
 McGeachey, J. B.
 McGill, Cecil D.O.
 McGillawee, Ross
 McGillion, F. B.
 McGillivray, R. H.
 McGillivray, T. A.
 McGillivray, Mr. Justice
 George A.
 McGinnis, Col. J. A.
 McGowan, James R.
 McGowan, L. J.
 Mcgrath, Rev. A. S.
 McGregor, I. R.
 McGuinness, M. B.
 McHaffie, H. G.
 McHenry, G. M.
 McHoull, W. D.
 McIntosh, Donald A.
 McIntyre, W. M.
 McIvor, Duncan
 McIver, Murdoch
 McKague, H. H.
 McKaughan, Cecil J.
 McKay, Huntley W. F.
 McKay, I. H.
 McKay, W.
 McKee, G. V.
 McKee, Dr. James A.
 McKee, John W.
 Mckee, Wm.
 McKenzie, P.
 McKeown, Donald
 Mckeown, Warren R.
 McKinney, F. T.
 McKinney, R. E.
 McKnight, J. G.
 McLachlan, W. Ian
 McLaren, R. H.
 McLaughlin, Paul
 McLaughlin, William A.

McLean, D. L.
 McLean, R. H.
 McLeod, Dr. Alex. N.
 McLeod, W. N.
 McMahan, H. W.
 McMechan, J.
 McMillan, Edwin
 McMillan, G. A.
 McMillan, Rev. Kenneth G.
 McMonagle, C. E.
 McMorran, W. Harold
 McMurrich, Robert C.
 McMurtry, W. G. Warren
 McNair, F. A. R.
 McNair, R. A.
 McNeil, R. Campbell
 McNeil, W. G.
 McNicol, J. A.
 McNish, J. D.
 McParland, D. J.
 McQuillin, C. W.
 McRae, Dr. Colin A.
 McRae, Ian F.
 McTague, Hon. C. P., q.c.
 McTague, J. C., q.c.
 McTague, W. C.
 Mctavish, C. E.
 McTeer, George S.
 McWilliams, David B.
 McWhirter, J. T.
 Medland, J. A.
 Medland, M. R.
 Medland, R. I.
 Medland, T. J.
 Medland, Col. Thomas M.
 Medler, A. S.
 Meech, R. C., q.c.
 Meech, R. G., q.c.
 Megaffin, D. J.
 Megginson, Clifford
 Menzel, David G. C., q.c.
 Menzies, J. Alexander
 Merchant, D. F.
 Merson, B.
 Mettler, F.
 Mewhort, D. S.
 Meynell, David
 Miano, D. J.
 Middleton, John G., q.c.

Middleton, V. A.
 Mikaelian, D. L.
 Miles, Ernest
 Millar, R. V.
 Miller, G. W.
 Miller, Hamilton
 Miller, J. A. F.
 Miller, James C.
 Miller, J. G.
 Miller, T. D.
 Milligan, V.
 Milloy, A. L.
 Milne, Douglas G., q.c.
 Milne, Gilbert A.
 Mills, Dr. Clarke
 Mills, George E.
 Mills, H. C.
 Mills, P. H., q.c.
 Milton, D. R.
 Minden, Harold
 Minkler, Dr. F. W.
 Mist, Charles F.
 Mitchell, A. R.
 Mitchell, A. W.
 Mitchell, Dr. E. W.
 Mitchell, Ivan F.
 Mitchell, G. P.
 Mitchell, John F.
 Mitchell, N. A.
 Mitchell, R. W.
 Mitchell, Wm. G.
 Moffatt, Earle E.
 Moffat, Norman D.
 Moisley, P. T.
 Moles, E. M.
 Mollenhauer, A. O.
 Monson, Rabbi David D.
 Montgomery, Major M.
 Montgomery, Dr. Robert C.
 Montgomery, Scott
 Moog, Gerhard W.
 Moore, E. M.
 Moore, Frank J.
 Moore, G.
 Moorhouse, Dr. H. C.
 Morden, W. D. S.
 Morgan, Lt. Col. E. B., c.v.
 Morgan, J.
 Morgan, Major J. R. H.

Morgan, M. H.
 Morgan, Marcel T.
 Morison, D. W.
 Morley, Frank
 Morningstar, Dr. R. W.
 Morris, J. B.
 Morris, James L.
 Morris, Roy
 Morrison, R. J.
 Morrison, W. H.
 Morrow, John A.
 Morrow, T. A.
 Mortimer, J. C.
 Morton, M. D.
 Mould, Jack
 Mowat, Bruce H.
 Moxon, John N.
 Mudie, Hubert C. P.
 Mugford, Sidney H.
 Muir, Lt. Col. Charles A.
 Muirhead, W. T.
 Muirhead, James
 Mulholland, D. B., q.c.
 Mullin, J. A.
 Mulloy, C. Lloyd
 Mundell, D. E.
 Munn, Charles H.
 Murchie, W. T.
 Murden, K. G.
 Murdock, A. W.
 Murphy, A. P.
 Murphy, E. S.
 Murphy, Thos. H.
 Murphy, Rev. C. C.
 Murray, Donald C.
 Murray, K. G.
 Musson, Charles J.
 Mutchmor, Rt. Rev. Dr. J. R.
 Myers, Rev. A. J. Wm.
 Myles, Peter B.
 Mylrea, A. J.

 Nagel, C. E.
 Nanton, P. C.
 Napier, E. J.
 Nash, Norman R.
 Nastich, Milan
 Neabel, C. C.
 Neale, John H., D.C.

Near, H. W.
 Neary, B. F.
 Nease, T. S.
 Needham, G.
 Nelson, William A.
 Nesbitt, Wm. A.
 Nettelield, J. P.
 Newby, H. D. R.
 Newman, H. A., q.c.
 Newman, John B.
 Newman, T. Campbell, q.c.
 Newport, W. R.
 Newsham, Major The Rev. R.
 Nicholls, D. W.
 Nicholls, H. C.
 Nicholls, Samuel G.
 Nicholls, W. T.
 Nicholson, K. E.
 Nicks, F. W.
 Nightingale, G. F.
 Ninnis, W. C.
 Nixon, John W.
 Nixon, R. F.
 Noble, Robert H.
 Nodwell, Rev. R. G.
 Nodwell, W. E.
 Norman, W. H.
 Norrington, H. W.
 Northey, J. A.
 Northway, John H.
 Notley, Norman J.
 Nowack, Wm. B.
 Notzl, Paul
 Nurse, R. C.

 O'Brien, J. V. A.
 O'Brien, Joseph W.
 O'Connor, Thos. P.
 O'Connor, W. M.
 Odell, Gordon J.
 O'Donohue, M., q.c.
 Ogilvie, D.
 O'Leary, Martin J.
 Olver, A. S.
 Omand, J. N.
 Ondaatje, Christopher
 Orde, Edward T. C.
 O'Reilly, Wm. J.
 Orenstein, Samuel

Orliffe, Herbert, Q.C.
 Ormod, William
 Osborne, Arthur R.
 Osler, B. B.
 Osler, D. S.
 Osler, Peter S., Q.C.
 O'Sullivan, J. P.
 Ormonde, G. E. B.
 Osborne, Col. J. Ewart
 Osborne, M. W.
 Osbourn, A. J.
 Osborne, R. D.
 Outerbridge, I. W.
 Ovens, Col. F. N.
 Ovens, Geo., D.F.C.

Paddle, L. H.
 Page, Gordon
 Page, Dr. M. A.
 Page, N. L.
 Page, Wm. A.
 Palin, E. L.
 Palm, William H.
 Palmer, C. L.
 Parker, Edward
 Parker, W. E.
 Parker, Wm. G.
 Parkinson, R. M.
 Parks, Captain Arthur H.
 Parnell, J. A., O.B.E.
 Parr, Rev. R. Harold
 Parry, W. W., K.C.
 Parsons, John A.
 Parsons, Norman
 Partridge, W. T.
 Paterson, W. H.
 Paterson, James G.
 Paterson, R. R.
 Paton, K. T.
 Paton, S. T.
 Patterson, Thomas A.
 Patterson, Major W. E.
 Patton, John A.
 Pattullo, Murray
 Paul, George
 Paulson, M. T.
 Payne, G. Henry
 Payne, M. W.
 Payne, Ralph B.

Peace, G. D.
 Peace, Robert R.
 Peachey, Edmund
 Pearce, Richard C.
 Pearce, W. M.
 Pearson, E. G.
 Peckover, Geo. H.
 Peebles, Alfred W.
 Peers, Michael
 Pegg, W. Wesley
 Pemberton, Frank E.
 Pendrith, J. G.
 Penny, John A. S.
 Pepall, R. L.
 Pepper, E. R.
 Pepper, P. B. C., Q.C.
 Pepper, P. R.
 Peppler, J. H. O.
 Percy, J. L.
 Perkes, Edward
 Perrin, H. D.
 Perry, J. Harvey
 Perry, A. Reginald
 Perry, L. W., Q.C.
 Perry, Peter
 Petersen, H. V.
 Peterson, N. F.
 Peto, Capt. E. M.
 Petrie, John S.
 Pettit, Holland, Jr.
 Phelan, R. G.
 Philip, Wm.
 Phillips, Gordon T.
 Phillips, J. C.
 Phillips, Jas. F.
 Phillips, J. J.
 Phillips, Leslie
 Phillips, Nathan, Q.C.
 Philip, D. F.
 Philip, W.
 Philpotts, Rev. G. W.
 Phipps, C. N.
 Phipps, G. E.
 Pickard, J. G.
 Pike, Harry A.
 Pilarek, Paul
 Pilis, C. F.
 Pineo, Lloyd G.
 Pink, J. W.

Pinker, Rev. Martin W., O.B.E.

Pitt, Arnold

Pitt, C. B.

Plain, B. E.

Plant, John L.

Plantner, J. F.

Platt, Robert G.

Playfair, S. B.

Plenty, Albert

Plummer, G. P.

Pollack, S.

Pollard, F. G.

Pollock, J. D. M.

Pope, Joseph

Porter, Hon. Dana H.

Porter, Donald S.

Porter, J. D.

Potter, Raymond E. S.

Potts, John A.

Potts, J. H.

Poulson, Andrew

Pound, T. W.

Pounsett, F. H. R.

Powis, Alfred

Powley, B. G.

Poyntz, A. R.

Pratt, Wm. J.

Prentice, Magistrate John L.,
Q.C.

Prentice, Victor F.

Prentice, W. M.

Prentis, E. D.

Preston, Harry T.

Pretty, David W.

Pretty, J. M.

Price, Grenville C.

Price, Harry I.

Price, Peter M.

Price, Vincent, Q.C.

Prince, H. R.

Pringle, Donald M.

Prior, Rev. William

Pritchard, E. M.

Pritchard, Frank

Procter, W. Harley

Proctor, John S.

Proudfoot, D. G.

Proverbs, C. I.

Prowse, Russell A.

Puddy, B. B.

Pullan, H.

Purcell, Gillis

Purchase, H. W.

Purkis, John E.

Purvis, G. I.

Pyper, D. G.

Rabnett, Basil

Radcliffe, N. D.

Radford, R. D.

Rae, James D.

Rae, Robert

Rainsberry, F. B.

Raleigh, R. C.

Ralph, George W.

Ralph, R. Ford

Rambo, W. L.

Randall, H.

Randall, The Hon. S. J., M.L.H.

Rankin, Donald G.

Ranney, J. J.

Rapmund, J. L.

Rapsey, Hugh A.

Rawson, G. H.

Ray, Louis W.

Rea, W. Harold

Reason, J. F.

Rechnitzer, E. V.

Rector, L. G.

Reddrop, F. O.

Redfern, D. B.

Redford, Wm. J.

Redwood, J. A.

Reeb, H. E.

Reeves, E. H.

Regan, Major N. H.

Reid, A. D. G.

Reid, Alexander G.

Reid, Donald M.

Reid, J. H.

Reid, Dr. H. W.

Reid, J. C.

Reid, Morgan

Reid, Robert F., Q.C.

Reid, Wm. G.

Reid, William H., Q.C.

Reilly, Leonard M.

Relyea, T. A.

Rendall, S. D.
 Reynolds, B. J.
 Rhind, J. A.
 Rice, Martyn A.
 Richardson, F. L.
 Richards, Roland W.
 Richmond, Frank
 Richmond, W. R.
 Rickard, W. Paul
 Rickey, H. R.
 Riley, Very Rev. Dean
 Rimey, Jacques
 Ripley, T. S.
 Ritch, J. Gerald
 Ritchie, Gen. Sir Neil
 Rittersporn, H. L.
 Robert, Paul
 Roberts, G. E.
 Roberts, H.
 Roberts, Harold E.
 Roberts, Hon. A. Kelso
 Roberts, John H.
 Roberts, L. V.
 Robertson, Douglas F.
 Robertson, Ian R.
 Robertson, John F.
 Robertson, O. A.
 Robertson, R.
 Robertson Stuart G.
 Robinette, T. L.
 Robins, Sydney L., Q.C.
 Robinson, C. F.
 Robinson, Lt. Col. F. R.
 Robinson, J. B.
 Robinson, L. Grieve
 Robinson, T. A.
 Robinson, W. K.
 Robinson, W. G. W.
 Robson, J. A.
 Roelofson, E. C.
 Roebuck, Hon. A. W., Q.C.
 Rogers, A. W.
 Rogers, Donald J.
 Rogers, Ian F. H.
 Rogers, N. Mac L., Q.C.
 Rogerson, W. R.
 Rokeby-Thomas, The Rev. Dr.
 H. R.
 Rollason, W. E.

Roman, Stephen B.
 Rooney, Anthony C.
 Roost, G. H.
 Rosborough, T. H.
 Rose, J. W., Jr.
 Rose, P. M.
 Rosenberg, Henry S.
 Rose, Allan C.
 Ross, Ian
 Ross, John T.
 Ross, J. Allan
 Ross, Dr. Murray G.
 Ross, John B.
 Ross, M. C. C.
 Rotenberg, Harry I.
 Rounthwaite, C. F. T.
 Rous, W. A.
 Rowan, Hugh
 Rowland, D. J.
 Rowland, J. G.
 Rowntree, H. Leslie
 Roxborough, E. L.
 Roxborough, E. M.
 Roy, Hedley E. H.
 Roy, Kayo J.
 Roy, Robert M.
 Royse, C. F.
 Royes, Lewis T.
 Rozovsky, H.
 Rubin, Dr. Leon J.
 Russell, D. K.
 Russell, N. E.
 Russell, S. H.
 Russell, Major T. B., C.D.
 Rutherford, F. R.
 Rutherford, J. M.
 Rutherford, Robert C.
 Rutledge, D.
 Rutledge, J. J.
 Ruttan, Col. C. M., C.B.E.
 Ruwald, Donald, Q.C.
 Rykert, John C.
 Ryrie, George

 St. John, J. Bascom
 Sablin, W. R.
 Sadowski, B.
 Sager, Elmer
 Saigle, E. G.

- Saila, Clement
 Sakamoto, H.
 Salmon, C. R. B.
 Saltstone, G.
 Samworth, R. G.
 Sanders, C. J.
 Sanderson, Horrell
 Sankey, R. V.
 Sarjeant, Dr. D. A.
 Saunders, Leslie H.
 Saunders, E.
 Saunders, Robert E.
 Saunders, R. G.
 Savage, Mark J.
 Savage, T. L.
 Sayle, Wm.
 Scanlan, Major P. D., D.F.C.
 Schakelaar, G.
 Schalk, D. J.
 Scherer, Joseph
 Schiller, S. C., Q.C.
 Schipper, Lionel
 Schlesinger, Emil E.
 Schmidt, R. A.
 Schuck, Wm. W.
 Schultz, J. D.
 Scott, B. C.
 Scott, Ernest W.
 Scott, Ian G.
 Scott, J. B.
 Scott, J. Kenneth
 Scott, Robert H.
 Scott, W. M.
 Scott, W. P.
 Scythes, J. A.
 Seabrook, V. M.
 Sears, Paul
 Seath, John
 Seaton, Dr. D. G.
 Seccombe, N. M.
 Secord, D. A.
 Sedgewick, R. M.
 Seedhouse, A. T.
 Seguin, J. H.
 Sedgewick, J., Q.C.
 Seigel, Morris
 Seitz, E. Burke
 Self, R. Harvey
 Sellar, G. M.
 Seltzer, John
 Sennett, D. M.
 Sewell, Ralph E.
 Sewell, Wm. S.
 Seyfried, Jan. A.
 Shakespeare, W. C.
 Shales, R. I.
 Shannon, L. P.
 Shapiro, B. Barry, Q.C.
 Sharp, Roy C., Q.C.
 Sharpe, L. B.
 Sharpe, Dr. S. S.
 Sharwood, Gordon R.
 Shaub, Harold A.
 Shaver, H. R.
 Shaw, D. Bruce
 Shaw, Fred M.
 Shay, P. G.
 Sheard, T. G.
 Sheath, K. W.
 Shelley, Brian H.
 Shelly, Leon C.
 Shenstone, Dr. Norman
 Shelson, Norman
 Sheppard, G. H.
 Sheppard, N. T.
 Sheppard, M. E.
 Sheppard, Norris E.
 Sheppard, His Honour Judge
 W. A. E.
 Shillabeer, L. R.
 Shillington, C. Howard
 Shiner, I.
 Shirer, John W.
 Shirriff, R. L.
 Shore, Louis A.
 Short, Rev. John
 Shurly, F. G.
 Siegal, Harold H.
 Sigsworth, Oscar T.
 Sedgwick, Hugh
 Sifton, Lt. Col. Clifford
 Sifton, Michael C.
 Sillers, J. S.
 Silverstein, Dr. Harry
 Sim, F. Donald
 Simonds, Lt. Gen. G. G.
 Simpson, Morris I.
 Simpson, J. R.

Simpson, N. M.
 Sims, Wm. G. Bryon
 Sinclair, G. Russell
 Sitwell, S. L. H.
 Skelly, James T.
 Skey, W/C L. W., M.P.
 Small, R. Hardy
 Smart, T.
 Smiley, Ross V.
 Smith, A. J.
 Smith, A. H.
 Smith, C. H.
 Smith, D. M.
 Smith, D. M. A.
 Smith, J. A.
 Smith, F. R.
 Smith, Harry R.
 Smith, Rev. Canon F. A.
 Smith, Dean
 Smith, J. Duncan
 Smith, Harold
 Smith, Isadore
 Smith, J. H.
 Smith, J. E. Assheton
 Smith, John W.
 Smith, K. B.
 Smith, L. J.
 Smith, N. K.
 Smith, S. R.
 Smith, Dr. T. O.
 Smith, Walter F.
 Smith, W. G.
 Smithers, W. A.
 Smyth, A. Rolph
 Snelgrove, L. S.
 Snell, Rev. Canon H. B.
 Snell, Paul F.
 Snider, P. R.
 Snow, Brig. Eric
 Soame, G. Reginald
 Solman, N.
 Sokamoto, H.
 Somerville, T. A.
 Sorbara, Dr. V. J.
 Sone, Shael S.
 Sorley, S.
 Southam, W. W.
 Southey, J. B. S.
 Soward, R. H., Q.C.

Sowden, A.
 Sparks, E. G.
 Sparrow, Eugene E.
 Speer, Arthur A.
 Speirs, N. R.
 Speicher, N. A.
 Spence, Dr. Magnus
 Spiegelman, J.
 Spragge, Brig. J. G.
 Spragge, W. P.
 Springer, G. M.
 Spry, W. F.
 Squarebriggs, Geo.
 Squires, E. M.
 Stackhouse, Rev. Dr. Reginald
 Stafford, George O.
 Stafford, M. C.
 Stanbury, R. J. H.
 Stanners, J. E.
 Stapells, R. Bredin
 Starkweather, Harvey C.
 Stark, L. M.
 Startup, D. G.
 Steed, R. G.
 Steedman, R. T.
 Steele, D.
 Steele, D. R.
 Steen, Ben R.
 Stedelbauer, J. Elliott
 Steinbach, C. H.
 Steiner, R. N.
 Steinhauer, D.
 Stephens, Nigel
 Stephenson, H. E.
 Sterling, Stanley C.
 Stern, Milton L.
 Stevens, Col. G., C.D.
 Stevens, H. R.
 Stevens, Robert E.
 Stevens, Sinclair
 Stevens, T. H.
 Stevenson, J. D.
 Stevenson, J. R.
 Stewart, Alan E.
 Stewart, Chas. B.
 Stewart, D. E.
 Stewart, Hector A.
 Stewart, J. M.
 Stewart, Peter

Stewart, W. A.
 Stigant, R. F.
 Stinson, Arnold
 Stinson, F. C., q.c.
 Stirling, Rev. Paul
 Stodart, D. H.
 Stodgell, J. C.
 Stoddill, Dr. C. G.
 Stollery, A. W.
 Stone, Philip M.
 Strathy, Robert A. C.
 Strike, W. Ross, q.c.
 Strong, M. B.
 Strother, J. R.
 Story, R. E.
 Stuart, A. K.
 Stuebing, Major A. Doug.
 Styles, Humphrey
 Sullivan, C. A. L.
 Sullivan, J. W.
 Sullivan, M. E.
 Suter, Robert, W.
 Sutherland, H.
 Sutherland, H. H.
 Sussman, Irving Paul
 Sweetman, N. A.
 Swift, A. E. Gaynor
 Swift, Charles A.
 Swinden, J. N.

Takahashi, K.
 Tancock, H. V.
 Tatchell, H. Charles
 Taylor, Anson S.
 Taylor, D. R.
 Taylor, E. H.
 Taylor, E. P.
 Taylor, C. N.
 Taylor, Grant E.
 Taylor, H. T. Crozier
 Taylor, J. H.
 Taylor, R. G.
 Taylor, R. W.
 Taylor, William E.
 Taylor, William E.
 Thickett, F. B.
 Thomas, F. E.
 Thomas, Dr. H. H.
 Thomas, Morley K.

Thomas, R. H.
 Thompson, A. E.
 Thompson, A. O.
 Thompson, Rev. Canon
 Thompson, Daniel A.
 Thompson, Gordon V.
 Thompson, J. C. W.
 Thompson, John M.
 Thompson, J. W., q.c.
 Thompson, Murray O.
 Thompson, S. M.
 Thompson, W. M.
 Thomson, Harold W.
 Thomson, J. A. D.
 Thomson, James M.
 Thomson, R. M.
 Thomson, Richard S.
 Thornton, H. G.
 Tiffany, Kenneth C.
 Tilly, J. S.
 Timbrell, David
 Tims, H. S.
 Tinker, John B.
 Tinning, Stanley E.
 Tiviluk, G.
 Tomlinson, John D.
 Todd, Douglas C.
 Topp, G. E.
 Torrance, F. W., q.c.
 Torrie, Fraser G.
 Tory, J. S. D., q.c.
 Tosevic, Dimitri J.
 Touchie, G. J.
 Townley, I. D.
 Townsend, Michael W.
 Traber, Hans
 Trantom, John
 Tredwell, Eric
 Trelford, Dr. W. G.
 Tretheway, S. D. C.
 Trevett, Wm. E.
 Tryhorn, Harry B.
 Trott, Ronald R.
 Tubby, W. G.
 Tully, Alan C.
 Tummon, Jack F.
 Turnbull, D. W.
 Turnbull, J. C.
 Turner, Douglas H.

Turner, John C.
 Turner, J. R. A.
 Turner, W. I. M.
 Turville, Frank D., Q.C.
 Tuttle, Aubrey
 Twaits, W. O.
 Tye, Harry T.
 Tynkaluk, Wm. C.
 Tyrell, G. C.

Underell, J. W. J.
 Upjohn, Bryan A.
 Upshall, B. B.
 Urquhart, Norman C.
 Upshall, Walter G.

Vale, Dr. Bruce W.
 Vallery, Hugh
 Vanderploeg, Col. J. S.
 Vandewater, H. J.
 Van Nostrand, Innes Neil
 Vanstone, F. S.
 Varty, George W.
 Vass, J. D.
 Vaughan, George A.
 Vernon, Harcourt
 Virtue, Roy A.
 Von Zuben, Ross

Waddell, G/Capt. R. C. A.
 Waddell, William D.
 Wade, J. P. Stephen
 Wadland, J. B.
 Wadsworth, J. P. R.
 Waffle, H. O.
 Waghorne, J. H.
 Wagner, George H.
 Wainwright, L. A.
 Wakelin, James W.
 Waldie, R. S.
 Walker, A. S.
 Walker, C. W.
 Walker, Senator The Hon. D. J.,
 P.C., Q.C.
 Walker, David I.
 Walker, D. R.
 Walker, Hugh P.
 Walker, J. B.
 Walker, L. J.

Wallace, Brig. F. C.
 Wallace, George R.
 Wallace, R. H.
 Walsh, Norman
 Walton, Chas. A.
 Walters, Fred. Y.
 Walton-Ball, Dr. H. G.
 Walwyn, J. P.
 Wanless, Herbert E.
 Wansbrough, F. A.
 Ward, Major Francis N.
 Ward, D. H.
 Ward, G. H.
 Wardlaw, David R., Q.C.
 Wardle, T. A.
 Wardrope, Hon. George
 Ware, W. T.
 Warner, M. J.
 Warnes, Charles
 Warnock, J. C.
 Warren, Donald P.
 Warren, Harold D.
 Warren, J. R.
 Warriner, E. B.
 Wasteneys, Lt. Col. J. G.
 Wasylenko, Dr. John
 Watkins, David J., M.B.E.
 Watkins, John C.
 Watley, E. J. A.
 Watson, A. G.
 Watson, C. E.
 Watson, David B.
 Watson, Douglas G.
 Watson, Hugh W.
 Watson, W. G.
 Watt, Dr. J. G.
 Watt, Rev. J. Robert
 Watt, Raymond
 Watts, Herbert A.
 Watts, Murray A.
 Waugh, F. D. R.
 Wears, Geo. M.
 Webb, Dwight
 Webb, J. Leslie D.
 Webster, J. D.
 Wedd, S. M.
 Wees, W. R.
 Weinberg, Bernard, Q.C.
 Weinstein, Leon E.

- Weir, D. T.
 Weir, John G.
 Welch, Donald
 Wells, Charles M.
 Wells, Hon. Mr. Justice D.C.
 Wellstood, Leonard
 Wenzel, J. S.
 West, Brig. Forbes E., E.D.
 West, R. Bruce
 West, C. K. F.
 West, R. C.
 Westaway, C. E.
 Westhead, Brig. J. F.
 Wharton, Harry T.
 Whelpton, E. W.
 Whillans, H. O.
 Whitaker, W. D.
 White, C. Lear
 White, J. E.
 White, Norman A.
 White, W. A.
 Whiteacre, J. A. W.
 Whitehead, Harry E.
 Whitelaw, A. B.
 Whitfield, A. E.
 Whitley, H. E.
 Wiertz, L. M.
 Wicklum, L. Earle
 Wigmore, Rev. V. D.
 Wilby, J. R. W.
 Wilcox, T. Murray
 Wildman, A. C. L.
 Wildman, J. E. A.
 Wilkes, A. E.
 Wilkes, Lieut. Col. F. H.
 Wilkins, Cyril H.
 Wilkins, D. J.
 Wilkinson, Right Reverend F. H.
 Wilkinson, Rev. M. P.
 Willey, G. E.
 Williams, Aubrey E.
 Williams, L. K.
 Williams, Owen S.
 Williams, R. L.
 Williams, Lt. Col. Wm. Eric
 Williams, W. E.
 Williams, W. J.
 Williamson, R. L.
 Willis, D. G.
 Williston, W. B.
 Willoughby, W. J.
 Wilson, A. L.
 Wilson, Major C. H.
 Wilson, C. N.
 Wilson, D. A.
 Wilson, D. Fraser
 Wilson, C. C.
 Wilson, F. H.
 Wilson, Glen A.
 Wilson, Harry H.
 Wilson, John A.
 Wilson, J. B.
 Wilson, R. D.
 Wilson, R. J.
 Wilson, Ray R.
 Wilson, W. H. T.
 Wilson, W. Joseph
 Wilton, N. B.
 Winter, L. W.
 Winter, W. S.
 Winters, Douglas
 Winters, Hon. R. H.
 Wise, Fred
 Wismer, W. M.
 Withrow, John B.
 Wittstock, F. W.
 Wittstock, Roy C.
 Wood, Alan
 Wood, Don S.
 Wood, Dr. Frank
 Wood, G. H.
 Wood, J.
 Wood, R. J.
 Wood, Robert J.
 Woodrooffe, G. T. N.
 Woods, David M.
 Woods, George
 Woodside, J. D.
 Woolley, Ian C.
 Woolley, Robert J.
 Woolnough, W. H.
 World, Sanford
 Wormley, M. W.
 Worrall, James
 Worth, R. H.
 Wortsman, Harvey
 Wright, Dr. Edgar N.
 Wright, Dr. Clarence F.

Wright, Harlow H.
 Wright, J. S.
 Wright, John A.
 Wright, J. R.
 Wright, Peter
 Wright, R. L.
 Wright, Tom W.
 Wrightson, S.
 Wyatt, H. L.

Yalden, R. E.
 Yaneff, Chris.
 Yaremko, Hon. John, Q.C.
 Yarmey, Dr. W. J.
 Yerger, John H.
 Yocom, J. H.
 Yoerger, J. S., Q.C.
 Yolles, S.

NON-RESIDENT

Allan, Roy D.
 Allingham, S. A.
 Anderson, E. V.
 Arminas, J.
 Armstrong, W. E.
 Atkins, James W.
 Bailey, John A.
 Bak, John
 Baker, John R.
 Barber, John R.
 Beatty, Dr. S. R.
 Beaumont, Arthur
 Begley, Geo. E.
 Bell, Cyril
 Belyea, Abner B.
 Birney, Gordon C.
 Blachford, H. A.
 Blainey, James E.
 Blanchard, H. A.
 Blue, Richard C. S.
 Bowlby, C. L.
 Braithwaite, L. A.
 Brannan, C. C.
 Brennan, Lt. Col. D. A., C.D.
 Brown, Brig. H. E., O.B.E., E.D.,
 C.D.
 Burkart, W. W.
 Campbell, C. B.

Youell, L. L.
 Young, Arnold R.
 Young, A. F. H.
 Young, George W.
 Young, Capt. J. O.
 Young, Reginald L.
 Young, J. Ross
 Young, Rev. J. W.
 Young, K. B.
 Young, John A.
 Young, N. D.
 Young, R. L., Q.C.

Zahumey, S.
 Zeldin, J. L.
 Zimmerman, Adam H.
 Zimmerman, W. H., Q.C.

Carl, J. A.
 Carlo, John C.
 Cary, Len
 Cartwright, The Hon. Mr.
 Justice J. R.
 Chapman, F. D.
 Charters, Alan H.
 Christie, Major J. G., M.B.E.
 Collins, Arnold R.
 Corson, C. R.
 Coupland, Walter C.
 Crantstoun, John A.
 Cresswell, H. A.
 Cummings, Major R.
 Currie, George
 Currie, H. D. G.
 Dainty, F. G.
 Davey, Keith
 Davies, Dr. John B.
 Davison, Wilfred
 Dawson, Isaac
 Day, C. J. L.
 Dixon, A. B.
 Drew, Hon. George A., P.C., Q.C.
 Duncan, J. M.
 Dunlop, J. Gordon
 Duthie, G. F.
 Dutton, B. A.

- Echlin, Charles
 Evans, L. T.
 Falkiner, F. H.
 Feather, Henry
 Ferguson, P. B. G.
 Ferreira, Manuel J.
 Ferriman, K. C.
 Findlay, Earl C.
 Fitch, T. S.
 Flavelle, Sir Ellsworth
 Foord, Lionel H.
 Frittenburg, G. D.
 Gelleny, Joseph J.
 Gibbens, Wm. M.
 Gilbert, C. A.
 Giles, T. S. H.
 Gowdy, D. M.
 Gunyon, C. Cecil
 Halbus, Prof. Frank
 Hamilton, John B., M.P.
 Hannon, Dr. J. W. G.
 Harrison, W. H.
 Hearn, Dr. Richard
 Henderson, R. G.
 Hicks-Lyne, Col. R. T. E.
 Hill, Percy C.
 Hines, W. J.
 Hogg, Thomas J.
 Horte, V. L.
 Howey, Major C. B.
 Howsam, A/V/M G. R., C.B.,
 M.C.
 Hubbel, Frank
 Hughes, Gordon R.
 Hughes, John A.
 Hyde, F. C. W.
 Ingham, Wilfred T.
 Irving, A.
 Jackson, George B.
 Jackson, George H.
 Johnston, John I.
 Kennedy, A. P.
 Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
 Kindersley, C. M.
 Kitching, Major Gen. Geo.,
 C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D.
 Klasson, M. J.
 Koyl, Jack E.
 Langley, G. B.
 Lebrocq, S. E.
 Leslie, Dr. Douglas
 Leyden, Charles
 Lipsit, E. Cameron
 Livingston, W. R.
 Mac Eachern, G. A.
 Mackellar, J. F.
 MacRae, Rev. Arthur
 Manbert, Ray R.
 Manning, G. L.
 Marshall, Dr. M. R.
 Mathews, C. K.
 Maxwell, Rev. Gordon S.
 McBain, Alex. L.
 McCrae, W. H.
 McDermid, Peter A.
 McHenry, G. M.
 McIvor, Dr. R. Craig
 McLachlan, W. R.
 McLaughlin, Colonel R. S.
 McNeil, S. R. R.
 Mercer, D. A.
 Milne, Alex. G.
 Mitchell, Robt. N.
 Moffat, John A.
 Monsarrat, Nicholas
 Morgan, James C.
 Morrison, D. M.
 Morton, Brig. R. E. A., D.S.O.
 Munro, Ralph M.
 Newbold, J. S.
 Oakie, Alfred U.
 Opie, R. P.
 Oulster, W. J.
 Owston, The Rev. R. H. T.
 Parson, Rev. G. P.
 Parsons, C. C.
 Partington, Eric
 Patterson, J. L.
 Pattison, E. W.
 Pattison, W. S.
 Paumann, M. K.
 Peerer, K. D.
 Perkins, I. B.
 Perry, John W.
 Petrie, Peter A.
 Puffer, Dr. A. Douglas
 Pugsley, Aubrey
 Puttock, Nigel W.

Rackley, Frank B.
Ramey, P. A.
Rawson, Clark M.
Reid, W. H.
Rickwood, George
Robinson, W. W.
Robson, Richard E. G.
Roe, Dr. Alan A.
Rolland, Lucien G.
Rossall, J. S.
Rutherford, Brig. W. S., E.D.
Santamaura, Dr. A. W.
Saul, Lt. Col. W. J., C.D.
Scott, Wilfrid R.
Seamark, Col. W. H.
Sherk, Frank T.
Shipp, Gordon S.
Spencer, C. W.
Stapells, H. G.
Steadman, Geo. A.
Steggles, W. A.
Stewart, Peter R.
Stewart, Robt. S.
Storie, W. S.

Thomas, T. N.
Thomson, J. R.
Thomson, Malcolm F.
Tobias, F. G.
Todgham, R. W.
Tough, David L.
Trenholme, H. E.
Turner, E. H.
Van Nostrand, Dr. F. H.
Vass, David
Wallace, L. M.
Walley, W. H.
Waters, C. B.
Weeks, A. L.
Weimer, D. P.
Weldon, J. O., Q.C.
West, Robt. A.
White, Geoffrey B.
White, Roy B.
Whiting, Lester
Wilkinson, Kenneth
Wilson, Thos. L.
Wood, B. M.
Wright, C. A.

This book was set in Times Roman type
and printed and bound by
T. H. Best Printing Company Limited,
Don Mills, Ontario.

